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# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH  
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XIV

MARCH 1919

Number 6

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation  
of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association  
of the Pacific States

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XIV

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## Editorial

### THE AMERICAN ACADEMY AND THE CLASSICS

At the annual meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Letters held in the Century Club on December 15, Professor Paul Shorey of the University of Chicago was elected to its membership to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Andrew D. White.

Very appropriately in connection with the election of this noted classicist an indorsement of the classics and a suggestion that American secondary schools and colleges place more emphasis on their study were embodied in a resolution adopted by the Academy. The resolution was as follows:

At a time when the habit of change threatens to unsettle all convictions and re-estimate all values, when war has concentrated the intelligence of the world on mastering the secrets of power latent in the physical forces of nature, when the readjustments of reconstruction direct attention to the practical needs of the importunate present, the American Academy wishes to record its abiding faith in those intellectual traditions and spiritual aspirations of humanity which in their sum constitute "the things that are more excellent." Literature, including not only the best reports of the current life and the passing hour, but the selected treasures of the European centuries from Homer to Tennyson, is simply the recorded memory of civilized mankind, the chief thing that distinguishes mankind from creatures that live only in the consciousness of the moment. By reasons of conditions not likely to recur, the noble literatures of Greece and Rome possess liberal and special excellencies not easily reproduced, and a peculiar power to stimulate, enlarge, and liberate the awakening intelligence of studious youth. They have a further and hardly less weighty significance as the source of inspiration and the indispensable key to the full understanding of nearly all of the best books of the modern world.

There may have been times when excessive emphasis of these truisms forced the study of the classical languages upon reluctant or unfitted minds to

the retarding of educational progress and the neglect of other not less essential studies. Those days are passed and their controversies concern us no more. It is no longer a question of exclusive predominance of the classics in education, but of their suppression. The study of the classics is not an obstacle, but an aid to the fostering and prosecution of those scientific inquiries upon which modern civilization depends.

With no desire to revive obsolete controversies, and without attempting to anticipate the details of a curriculum, the Academy believes that, in a broad view of present conditions, thoughtful Americans ought to use their influence to encourage rather than to discourage (1) the basic study of a substantial amount of Latin, and wherever practical, of Greek, in our secondary schools; (2) the cultural study of Greek and especially of Latin in our colleges; (3) the scientific study of classical antiquity in the graduate schools of our universities. The triumph of the opposite policies will lower the intellectual and aesthetic standards of our secondary schools and the average culture of the American people, and, in the absence of any controlling sense of linguistic laws and historic derivations, will debase their written and spoken English. It will convert into a mere technical or vocational school the liberalizing and elevating American college, which, however imperfectly, has trained the statesmen, the writers, and the leaders of opinion who have made the America we know and love. It will destroy the young and flourishing school of productive American scholarship just as it is emancipating itself from the old provincialism and from the old dependence on Germany, and is preparing to take its true place in the fellowship of scholars throughout the world.

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#### THE PREPARATION OF THE BOARD'S LATIN PAPERS

The extreme care, aiming to secure perfect justice to candidates, schools, and colleges, with which the Latin answer books are read each year has often been described in the *Journal*. Now the chief examiner, Professor McCrea, and the other examiners have expressed the wish that teachers, both in schools and in colleges, may be told exactly how the question papers are prepared. While the following account will apply in particular to the ordinary Latin papers, yet I am sure that in general it applies also to the comprehensive Latin papers and to all the various papers prepared for the Board.

There are four Latin examiners, two representing the schools and two the colleges. Early in the fall the several papers to be prepared are divided among the examiners, for the papers in their completed form must be in the hands of the secretary by December 1. It is necessary for the examiners to have in mind all the papers that have ever been given by the Board and to see that the character



of the new papers differs only slightly, if any, from that of previous papers. Teachers do not need to be told that the greatest difficulty arises in the selection of passages for sight translation and in setting proper passages for translation into Latin. In choosing a suitable sight passage it is often necessary to read whole volumes of prose or verse. The subject-matter must be a clearly told story, more or less familiar to the average candidate, and it must contain few words or constructions that require comment. The English passages to be turned into Latin must also be connected stories, and every word must be well known. The sentences should call for a suitable variety of genitives, datives, subjunctives, infinitives, etc., yet the constructions required must not be too subtle.

After the first drafts of the papers have been completed, the examiners meet at Columbia University, generally on the Saturday after Thanksgiving. These meetings begin at 9:30 A.M. and continue until the task is done, sometimes until 2:00 A.M. on Sunday morning! This year the meeting adjourned at 10:30 P.M., and it was busy work from start to finish. We did not settle the affairs of the nations or even the disposition of the Kaiser. Every passage for translation, either prepared or at sight, and every question on every paper was scrutinized and discussed with the greatest care. For assistance here all the editions used by the schools and all the vocabularies and lexicons were brought into service. An earnest endeavor was made to avoid every possibility of ambiguity in the questions and to see that the candidates should be expected, from the books used by them, to give the answers with almost mathematical precision.

Changes of every variety were made in the course of the revision of the papers, even in the substitution of different passages for translation. At the end of the session the examiners expressed the belief that the papers to be given next June are as nearly perfect as anything human can be. However, there is still one more chance for revision, since all papers must be subjected to the criticisms of the Committee of Review. The meeting of this committee is attended by the chief examiner, who may be obliged to justify every detail of every paper. If such justification is impossible, further changes must be made.

M. N. W.

## THE GENERAL INDEX

By the time this number of the *Journal* reaches the reader the *General Index* to the first thirteen volumes will be published and ready for delivery. It will contain thirty-nine double-column pages, twelve of which are given to the index of contributors and twenty-seven to the index of subjects. It is interesting to note that the list of contributors contains three hundred and sixty-seven names, an array of the classical leaders in our schools and colleges during the last fifteen years and more. The subject index presents the output from these numerous workshops classified according to their subject-matter and thus made most accessible to those who would make use of them.

Those who have followed the *Journal* from year to year know that it is a faithful reflection of the thought, work, and happenings of the classical world for each year, and they find in its thirteen volumes a rich storehouse of knowledge and wisdom. The *General Index* furnishes the indispensable key to this storehouse.

As stated in the February number of the *Journal*, the *Index* is being published by the Association at its own charges and offered at cost price to the members. Members are accordingly urged to send in their subscriptions promptly, that the Association may be able to meet this extraordinary expense without encroaching upon its ordinary income.

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## THE ATLANTA MEETING IN PROSPECT

For the fifth time in its fourteen years' history, involving fifteen annual meetings, the Association meets in a southern city. In former years we have met twice in Nashville, once in New Orleans, and once in Louisville. In the north, the Association has met four times in Chicago, twice in St. Louis, and once each in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Iowa City, and Omaha.

Owing to the immense spread of our territory, no city is so central or accessible as to make it possible for more than a small percentage of our members ever to attend any one meeting. Hence we must always look to the home section in which the meeting is held to furnish the greater part of the attendance at each annual meeting. And for those who are fortunate enough to find it possible

to attend the meetings at a distance from their own homes the occasion is especially enjoyable because of the opportunity to meet friends and co-workers in more distant fields. As far as the papers are concerned, the *Journal* makes it possible for the most distant member to read them; but the personal fellowship which the meetings provide can be had only at the price (too often, alas! prohibitive) of actual attendance.

The committee has labored under unusual difficulties this year in the construction of the annual program. We are glad to note that the number of papers is to be considerably less than usual, in order to allow proper time for discussion. This will be a most welcome innovation. Two special features of the program will be, first, Dean West's presentation of the plans for the American Classical League, followed by discussion and action upon the proposal; and second, a group of papers on some old-time southern schoolmasters, which is sure to prove of great interest. Some of the papers which will be presented in addition are as follows:

- "A Talk on the Roman Method of Pronouncing Latin," MILTON W. HUMPHREYS, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- "Literary Phrasing in Numerical Expressions," CHARLES E. LITTLE, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.
- "The Sycophant-Parasite," J. O. LOFBERG, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- "Martial, the Poet," E. L. GREEN, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.
- "Jefferson, the Classicist," THOMAS FITZHUGH, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- "Colonel William Bingham as a Latin Teacher—an Appreciation," W. R. WEBB, Webb School, Bell Buckle, Tenn.
- "Life and Monuments on the Roman Campagna" (illustrated), E. S. McCARTNEY, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- "Literary References and Allusions in Petronius," R. B. STEELE, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- "The Element of the Burlesque in Homer's *Iliad*," CLYDE PHARR, Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn.
- "The Incomplete Expression of the *Anima Mundi* Doctrine in the Sixth *Aeneid*," ROBERT S. RADFORD, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- "Roman Moon Lore," EUGENE TAVENNER, State Normal School, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
- A Conference on Methods of Latin-Teaching in High Schools and Normal Schools. Under the direction of J. B. GAME, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.

Several other papers are to be added to this list, but exact titles are not yet available. Among them is an illustrated lecture by Dr. Charles Upson Clark, of the American Academy in Rome.

PROGRAM OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, TO BE HELD  
AT WHEATON COLLEGE, NORTON, MASSACHUSETTS,  
MARCH 28 AND 29, 1919.

FRIDAY MORNING (10:30)

Welcome, by PRESIDENT SAMUEL V. COLE, of Wheaton College, with Response by PROFESSOR GEORGE E. HOWES, president of the Association.

"Indirect Discourse and the Subjunctive of Attraction," MR. BERNARD M. ALLEN, Phillips Academy, Andover.

"The One and the Many," DR. JOSIAH BRIDGE, Westminster School.

"The Fate of Achilles in the *Iliad* and the Fate of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*: A Unitarian Argument," PROFESSOR SAMUEL E. BASSETT, University of Vermont.

Reports and business, including the election of officers.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

"The Second Phase of the Battle of Cunaxa," PROFESSOR JOSEPH W. HEWITT, Wesleyan University.

"An English Verse Translation of Certain Scenes in the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, with an Introductory Note and Using Some of the Original Meters," PROFESSOR IRENE NYE, Connecticut College for Women.

Greetings from the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, PROFESSOR CHARLES KNAPP, Columbia University.

"Antaeus," MR. HORACE M. POYNTER, Phillips Academy, Andover.

FRIDAY EVENING

Organ recital in the college chapel, PROFESSOR H. G. TUCKER, Wheaton College.

Reception to the Association and its guests at the President's house, by PRESIDENT and MRS. COLE.

SATURDAY MORNING (9:30)

"Children in Roman Life and Literature" (illustrated), PROFESSOR ADELINE BELLE HAWES, Wellesley College.

"Latin Examinations as Tests of Intelligence," PROFESSOR NELSON G. MCCREA, Columbia University.

"Recognition Scenes Old and New: An Enduring Fashion in Thrills," PROFESSOR MARY GILMORE WILLIAMS, Mount Holyoke College.

"The Proposed American Classical League," DEAN ANDREW F. WEST, Princeton University.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

"An Experiment in Teaching Latin for the Sake of English," MISS MARY C. ROBINSON, Bangor High School.

"An Ancient Contemporary, or the Modern Element in the Poems of Vergil," PRESIDENT SAMUEL V. COLE, Wheaton College.



## PUNS AND PLAYS ON PROPER NAMES

BY EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY  
University of Texas, Austin, Texas

In 1897 there appeared in the *Harvard Studies* (VIII, 103-84) an article by Professor Chase called "The Origin of Roman Praenomina." Since that time the literature on the subject of names has been augmented by several additions which run the gamut from the popular article to the scholarly tome.<sup>1</sup> Each writer has approached the subject from a different avenue, but there are still some paths untrodden. It is the aim of the present paper to investigate one of these bypaths, "Puns and Plays on Proper Names." It is hoped that the paper will not prove to be merely a compilation of witticisms but will throw some light on Roman mental processes and show at what Romans laughed.

The ancestors of the Romans, on abandoning the Indo-European system of compound names, adopted prosaic substitutes. These were suggested by personal appearance, traits, defects, occupations, etc.,<sup>2</sup> and hence were in origin more or less of the character of nicknames. Even the royal family could not escape this national tendency, for example, Caligula, Severus, Pius, Pertinax. It is not strange that a nation which poked fun at personal deformities<sup>3</sup> should feel no delicacy about punning on names with obvious connotations. "Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen, cum ad ridiculum convertas, quam ob rem ita quis vocetur" (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 63. 257).

Dr. Johnson went so far as to say that a man who will make a pun will pick a pocket. Among Roman writers we find names given

<sup>1</sup> Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*; Colbourn, "What's in a Name?" *Class. Weekly*, VI, 66-69; Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*; R. B. Steele, "Roman Personal Names," *Class. Weekly*, XI, 113-18.

<sup>2</sup> See Chase, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> "Est etiam deformitatis et corporis vitiorum satis bella materies ad iocandum" (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 59. 239). That Cicero was not merely theorizing is shown by his coarse personal abuse of Vatinius and Piso.

to certain characters with the obvious intention of punning upon them.<sup>1</sup> *Redende Namen* are common too. Like wine, the play upon the name Rex apparently grew better as it seasoned. We find it on the lips of Cicero (*Att.* i. 16. 10), Caesar (Suet. 79. 2), and Horace (*Sat.* i. 7). Cicero made at least fifteen assaults upon the name Verres. (Perhaps his failure to deliver all the Verrine speeches saved him from an outraged public.) The same quest after a play is manifest on sepulchral inscriptions, where it is clearly regarded as an embellishment. It required great restraint for the bereaved to mention the *Parcae* on an epitaph without stating that they did not spare. The writer has found over twenty inscriptions punning on the names Felix, Felicula, Felicitas.

This constant reiteration reminds one of the Italian cicerone. When he unloads a joke for the thousandth and first time, yet with all the spontaneity of an initial attempt, one is inclined to think that this ability is inherited, and that the sins of the fathers have been visited upon the children beyond the third and fourth generation.

The pun most familiar to high-school students, but never appreciated, with or without explanation, is the one on *ad equum rescribere* by a certain soldier of Caesar's Tenth Legion (*B.G.* i. 42). Next in order must come the double-barreled *ius Verrinum* (*Verr.* i. 46. 121), the cleverest of Cicero's many attempts to play on the name Verres. For convenience, the writer has made several classifications of word plays, beginning with equivoques.

#### EQUIVOQUES

Where a word, like the tongue of a jackdaw, speaks twice as much by being split.—Pope.

Puns of this type are the most concise, since a word is used with a *double entendre*, or is repeated with a different signification. At Rome absence was not conducive to successful electioneering: "Admonuisti etiam, quod in Creta [i.e., toga cretata] fuisses, dictum aliquod in petitionem tuam dici potuisse" (Cic. *Planc.* 34. 85). Making the last first was not confined to biblical parables:

<sup>1</sup> This is very true of Plautus, e.g., *Peniculus* (*Men.* 77); *Scortum* (*Capt.* 69 ff.); *Sceledrus* (*Mil.* 289, 330, 494); *Tranio* (*Most.* 5, 825, 903, 984; see Fay, *Most.*, p. 64); *Truculentus* (*Truc.* 265, 266, 674); *Gelasimus* (*Stich.* 174).

"Respondebo igitur Postumo primum" (Cic. *Mur.* 25. 57). Pompey's greatness was twofold: "Nostra miseria tu es Magnus" (Cic. *Att.* ii. 19. 3; cf. Val. Max. vi. 2. 9). Not even the tombstone is sacred to the punster: "Solvit vota sua laetus cum coniuge Cara" (*Anthol.* 317); "Agnosces nomen coniugis Gratae meae" (Chol., 142).<sup>1</sup>

Two puns in one sentence are not a unique occurrence: "In his inventae sunt quinque imagunculae matronarum in quibus una sororis amici tui hominis *bruti* qui hoc utatur et illius *lepidi* qui haec tam neglegenter ferat" (Cic. *Att.* vi. 1. 25; cf. *Att.* xiv. 14. 2).<sup>2</sup> After citing an illustration of the extraordinary frugality of Lucius Piso during his praetorship in Spain, Cicero remarks (*Verr.* iv. 25. 57): "Ridiculum est me nunc de Verre [i.e., the hog] dicere, quum de Pisone Frugi [i.e., the frugal] dixerim."

The use of the pun as a means of economy of effort was an idea worthy of the fertile brain of the rake Trimalchio, who gave the name Carpus to his carver: "Ita quotiescumque dixit 'Carpe,' eodem verbo vocat et imperat" (Petr. 36 *ad fin.*).<sup>3</sup> "Suavis autem

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations used in giving references: *Anthol.* = Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*; Chol. = Cholodniak, *Carmina Sepulcralia Latina*; Eng. = Engstroem, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hamlet* (Act III, scene 2, lines 97-99).

"Polonius: I did enact Julius Caesar: I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me.

"Hamlet: It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there."

<sup>3</sup> There are many equivoques in Latin: Aquila (Cic. *Phil.* xii. 8. 20); Asellus (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 64. 258); Balbus (Cic. *Fam.* ix. 19. 1-2); Boius est, boiam terit (Plaut. *Capt.* 888); Bona, i.e., Bona Dea (Cic. *Har. resp.* 37); Caecilianam fabulam, play on name of poet and gens (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 15); Candida (*CIL*, iv, 1520); Corintharius (Suet. *Aug.* 70. 2); Felix (Chol., 174); Germanus (Cic. *Phil.* xi. 6. 14); germani (Vell. Pat. ii. 67. 4); gallus (Cic. *Pis.* 67); Galli (Suet. *Nero* 45. 2); ius Hirtianum (Cic. *Fam.* ix. 18); Kópa, playing on Cora (Plaut. *Capt.* 881); Laudiceni (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 14. 5); Libertas (Cic. *Dom.* 42. 110); Liber (Plaut. *Capt.* 557-58; *Cist.* 127-28; Petr. 41); Ligurino, play on P. Aelius Ligur and Ligurian (Cic. *Att.* v. 20. 6); Nigra (*CIL*, iv, 6892; see Eng., p. 92); Phoenicium, poenicio corio (Plaut. *Pseud.* 229); Pistorenses (Plaut. *Capt.* 160); Prima (Chol., 130, 214); pulcher (Catull. 79); quadrantaria permutatione (Cic. *Cael.* 26. 62; Quadrantaria was a nickname, as we know from Plut. *Cic.* 29); Restituta (Chol., 1201a); Servius Tullius (Quint. ix. 3. 21); Rex (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 10; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7; Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 79. 2); Tirones (Cic. *Phil.* xii. 6. 14); truculentus (Plaut. *Truc.* 265, 266, 674); Umbra (Plaut. *Most.* 769-70); ius Verrinum (Cic. *Verr.* i. 46. 121); Veneri et Cupidini (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 55. 123); Vindex (Suet. *Nero* 45. 2).

est et vehementer saepe utilis iocus et facetiae" (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 54. 216).

The art of punning was included in the equipment of the wily Ulysses. Perhaps the most famous pun in Greek literature is that on οὔτις and οὐ τις, by means of which Ulysses managed to effect his escape from Cyclops (*Odys.* ix. 366-414).<sup>1</sup> A name capable of being punned upon was at times a great misfortune: Κόνων Θρασύβουλον θρασύβουλον ἐκάλει, καὶ Ἡρόδικος Θρασύμαχον αἰεὶ θρασύμαχος εἶ, καὶ Πῶλον αἰεὶ σὺ πῶλος εἶ, καὶ Δράκοντα τὸν νομοθέτην, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνθρώπου οἱ νόμοι, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος (Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 23. 28). Even Christ resorted to punning: σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Matt. 16:18).<sup>2</sup>

There are some wonderful plays of this character in English. The court jester of Charles the First is said to have made the punning grace, "Great praise be to God and little Laud to the Devil," for which he was dismissed by the archbishop. Another famous pun is that upon *The Beggar's Opera*, which "made Gay rich and Rich gay."<sup>3</sup>

#### PARONOMASIA

Quod mutatis verbis salem amittit, in verbis habet leporem omnem.—

Cic. *De orat.* ii. 62. 252.

The Romans loved the clashing of word on word as well as of sword on sword. They were fond of plays which depended for their effect upon similarity or identity of sound at the beginning, middle, or end of words, whether they were etymologically related or not.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eur. *Cycl.*, 549, 672 ff.; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 184 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pun on Σπάρτη and σπάρτη (Aristoph. *Aves* 813-16); Τρυφέρα τρυφερά (*Anthol. Pal.* v. 153. 2); πάντα Λέοντι and Πανταλέοντι (Quint. 7. 9. 6).

Aristophanes is, of course, fond of word plays; e.g., Διοπειθης (*Vesp.* 380); Νικόβουλος (*Eq.* 615); Λυσιμάχης (*Pax* 992; *Lysist.* 554); Τραγασαῖα (*Achar.* 808). Proper names are suggested by the following words: ἄμυνίαις (*Eq.* 570. This is a sarcastic reference to the Ἄμυνίαις of *Nub.* 692); λυσανίας (*Nub.* 1162). Somewhat similar is πανσανίας in Sophocles (*Frag.* 887, Jebb).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also, "Old Gaunt indeed and gaunt in being old" (*Richard II*, Act II, scene 1, line 73). A well-known clever pun is the following:

"Said a great and sensational preacher  
To a hen, 'You're a beautiful creature.'  
And the hen, just for that,  
Laid an egg in his hat,  
And thus did the hen reward Beecher."



Aquilius was the proper person to consult about *aqua* (Cic. *Balb.* 20. 45). Everyone experienced *damnum* in Epidamno (Plaut. *Men.* 267). An effective military figure is seen in *Ballionem exbal-  
listo* (Plaut. *Pseud.* 585). Cicero uses the word *plebicola* in ironical allusion to Publicola (Cic. *Sest.* 52. 110). *Tiberium in Tiberim* was lèse majesté against the dead emperor (Suet. *Tib.* 75). Victoria outlived her "man," *virum vicit* (*Anthol.* 1142). Friends are invoked to honor Florus with *flores* (*Anthol.* 1594). Narcissus of the flowery name perished in the flower of his youth, *flore iuventae* (Burmman, 4. 102). Pulcher, the cognomen of P. Clodius, provided a tempting target for shafts of witticism: "sed credo postquam speculum tibi adlatum est longe te a pulchris abesse sensisti" (Cic. *In Clod. Frag.* 25). To him the sarcastic *pulchellus* is often applied (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 10; ii. 1. 4, 18. 3, 22. 1).<sup>1</sup>

That a name capable of being punned upon should be an asset seems impossible of belief, yet such a circumstance won Regilianus a kingdom:

Mirabile fortasse videatur, si quae origo imperii eius fuerit declaretur. Capitali enim ioco regna promeruit. Nam cum milites cum eo quidam cenarent, exstitit vicarius tribuni, qui diceret: "Regiliani nomen unde credimus dictum?" Alius continuo: "Credimus quod a regno." Tum is qui aderat scholasticus coepit quasi grammaticaliter declinare et dicere: "Rex regis regi

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *alienissimus* in allusion to Alienus (Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 15. 50); Archimedes-dempturum (Plaut. *Bacch.* 284-85); Avidius-avidus (*Hist. Aug.*, Avid. Cass. 1. 7); Calvinus plays on *calvus* by implication (Suet. *Vesp.* 23. 4; see Rolfe, *Suet.* ii, A 318, note b, Loeb Classical Library); Charinus-χαρίν (Plaut. *Pseud.* 712); Charinus-careo (Plaut. *Pseud.* 736); Crucisalum-Chrysalo (Plaut. *Bacch.* 362); Dolon-dolo (Ovid *Her.* i. 39-40); Felicis-infelicissimi (*CIL*, IX, 1724); Felicitati-infelicissima (*CIL*, IX, 1740); Fortuna-infelices (*CIL*, IV, 29201); Laco, probably play on *lacus* and λάκκος, "tank" (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 41. 106); Lucilla-lucrum (*CIL*, IV, 1948); Lucina-lux (*Anthol.* 436); Lucina-lumen (Eng., 153); Lucius-luce-luci (*Anthol.* 516); Lyde-ludo (Plaut. *Bacch.* 129); Molo-molis (Cic. *Att.* ii. 1. 9); parva-Parca (Hor. *C.* ii. 16. 37-39); Phronesium-phronesis (Plaut. *Truc.* 78a); Poeni-poena (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 6. 12); Poeni-poenas (Plaut. *Cist.* 202); Pollex-index (Cic. *Att.* xiii. 46. 1); Primula-prima (*Anthol.* 1614); *quadrare*, in allusion to Quadrantaria (Cic. *Caec.* 29. 69); Saturio-essurio (Plaut. *Pers.* 101-3); Sceledrus-scelus (Plaut. *Mil.* 289; cf. 330, 494); Sosia-socium (Plaut. *Amph.* 383-84); Treviri-tresviri (Cic. *Fam.* vii. 13. 2); Vatinius-vaticinando (Cic. *Vat.* 2. 6); Venus-venerieis (*sic*) rebus (*Anthol.* 181); Venus-venusta (Plaut. *Most.* 161); Verres-vertit (Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 17. 57); Verres-everti and eversus (*Verr.* ii. 22. 54); Verres-aversor (*Verr.* v. 58. 152); Verres-Verria (*Verr.* ii. 21. 52 *ad fin.*); Verres-erriculum (*Verr.* iv. 24. 53); verretet Verres (Cic. *Fragm.* ap. Quint. vi. 3. 55); Dum sum Vitalis et vivo (*CIL*, VIII, 1027; cf. *vita vitalis*, Cic. *Lael.* 6. 22).

Regilianus." Milites, ut est hominum genus pronum ad ea, quae cogitant: "Ergo potest rex esse?" Item alius: "Ergo potest nos regere?" Item alius: "Deus tibi regis nomen posuit." Quid multa? His dictis, cum alia die mane processisset, a principiis imperator est salutatus [Trebb. Pol. Trig. Tyr. 10. 3.]

The Greek ear was as fond of *jeux de mots* as was the Roman. We find them in the most formal literature, although their presence in serious works is due largely to the feeling that there is a close connection between one's name and one's fate. Bacchylides (6. 1-3) thus commemorates a victor in a foot race: Λάχων . . . λάχε φέρτατον πόδεσσι κύδος. Aeschylus juggles with πανδίκως and Δίκη (Sept. 657-58). Πανσανίου πανσαμένου (Plato Symp. 185 C), "Pausanias pausing," is one of the few puns that can be readily translated into English. Demosthenes too yields to temptation as we see in σοφῶ Σοφοκλεῖ (19. 248). This reminds one of the parasites described by Pliny (Ep. ii. 14. 5), who were accustomed to go from court to court and to shout applause, σαφῶς καλεῖν, thus earning the name Σοφοκλεῖς.<sup>1</sup>

Simonides (168) catered to the taste for a nonsensical jingle:

Σῶσος καὶ Σωσώ, σῶτερ, σοὶ τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
Σῶσος μὲν σωθεῖς, Σωσώ δ' ὅτι Σῶσος ἐσώθη.

The Greeks were fascinated by the mysteries of the winged word. One manifestation of this is the etymological pun. A few instances may be cited from Euripides, who was known as the τραγικός ἐτυμολόγος: "Δολων from δόλος (Rhes. 158), 'Ατρεὺς from ἄτρεστος (Iph. in Aulide 321), Πενθεὺς from πένθος (Bacch. 367), 'Αφροδίτη from ἀφροσύνη (Tro. 989), 'Ελένη from ελεῖν (Tro. 891), "Ἴων from ἰέναι (Ion. 661, 802, etc.), Καπανεὺς from καπνός (Suppl. 496), Ζῆθος from ζητεῖν (Frag. 179), 'Αμφίων from ἀμφιέναι (Frag. 180), Δανάη from δηναῖος (Frag. 317, vs. 20), Βοιωτὸς from βοῦς (Frag. 485), Μελέαγρος from μελέα ἄγρα (Frag. 525)."<sup>2</sup>

A pun may be hinted at rather than expressed; for example, "Αἰδης . . . πλουτίζεται (Soph. O.T. 30). Here Πλούτων suggests

<sup>1</sup> Other plays: ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξομαι (Aristoph. Frag. 1, p. 546 K); Γέλας-Καραγέλας (Aristoph. Achar. 606; Athen. 314 F); εὐροον Εὐρώταν (Eur. Hec. 649); Λοξίας (playing on λοξός and εὐθύτατος: Pind. Pyth. 3. 28); Παλίκων (playing on πάλιν Aesch. Frag. 5, Nauck). Likewise, μήδεσιν suggests Medea (Pind. Pyth. 4. 27) and σκύλαξ hints at Scylla (Aesch. Cho. 612).

<sup>2</sup> Paley, *Introd. to Eur.* I, p. xxx. Cf. also Θόας from θοός (Eur. Iph. in Tauris 32); 'Ελένη and εἶλε (Hec. 442).

itself as an equivalent of "Αἰδης. Mockery and parody are combined in Aristophanes' *Pax* (1293), where Λάμαχος is described as ἀνδρὸς βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱός. Definitional plays occur at times. In the *Iliad* (ii. 702) Homer clearly has the etymology of Protesilaus in mind when he represents him as νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺν πρῶτιστον Ἀχαιῶν.<sup>1</sup> The same thing is true of Δημόδοκος, λαοῖσι τετιμένος (*Odys.* xiii. 28).<sup>2</sup>

Shakespeare's audience was fond of puns, however poor or obvious; for example, Brutus and brute (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene ii, lines 97-99); luces and louses (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act. I, scene 1); Rome and room (*Richard II*, Act II, scene 1, line 73); Rome and roam (*I Henry VI*, Act III, scene 1, line 51).<sup>3</sup>

#### NAMES APPROPRIATE

O how that name befits thy composition.—*Richard II*.

There is a much-used type of word play in which the appropriateness of the name is indicated, or a wish or prayer is expressed that the literal meaning of the name may be fulfilled. Among the common people of ancient Italy it was in great favor for metrical inscriptions:

*Candida praesenti tegitur matrona sepulcro*

*Moribus ingenio et gravitate nilens.*—*Anthol.* 1390.

*Meritis pariterque et nomine Celsa.*—*Anthol.* 700.

*Corpore mente animo pariterque et nomine Felix.*—*Anthol. Suppl.* 1. 61.

*Sed te nunc, Pietas, venerorque precorque*

*ut bene pro meritis hilares Hilaram.*—*Anthol.* 963.

*Hoc lapide tegitur Aurelia Pia piissima coniunx.*—*Chol.*, 21.

*Nomine Pulcheria fuit, sed nomine formam*

*signavit mentemq. simul vitamq. decentem.*—*Anthol.* 710.

*Turtura nomen abis, set turtur vera fuisti*

*cui coniux moriens non fuit alter amor.*—*Eng.*, 358.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Protesilaus means literally, "qui praecurrit populum"; see Fay, *Classical Quarterly*, VIII, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Demodocus = δῆμος + Gk. cognate of *decus*.

<sup>3</sup> The writer is aware, of course, that the pronunciation of some of these words has changed.

<sup>4</sup> Other plays of this character are Calliste (*Anthol.* 1035); Clearchus (*Anthol.* 235); Clemens (Burmman, 4. 105); Dextrianus (*Anthol.* 769); Felix (*Anthol.* 661, 671, 1271; *Eng.*, 51; *CIL*, IV, 6815); Floridus (*Anthol.* 686); Hedistes (*Anthol.* 1046); Kara (*Chol.*, 734); Petrus (*Anthol.* 312); Proba (Burmman, 4. 136); Vitalis (*Anthol.* 1801).

The last epitaph is a gem, since the turtledove is a conspicuous example of conjugal fidelity in the animal kingdom.

The name of Iuba was appropriate, since he was *bene capillatus* (Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2. 59). Likewise it was fitting for Iuventius to be supported by an *adulescens* (Cic. *Planc.* 24. 58). *Parca non mendax* (Hor. *C.* ii. 16. 39) is sometimes interpreted as "Parca not belying her name," but it is best taken as an equivalent of *Parca tenax veri* (Pers. *Sat.* 5. 48).

In Greek the most conspicuous illustration of the suitability of a name is Helen: *τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ᾧδ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως· μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένον γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων; τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ θ' Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως ἑλένας, ἑλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις* (Aesch. *Agamem.* 681-89).

Eteocles and Polynices met fates conforming to their names: *οἱ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν* (i.e., *ἐτεῶς κληζόμενος*) *καὶ πολυνεικεῖς ὦλοντ' ἀσεβείῃ διανοίᾳ* (Aesch. *Sept.* 814-16; cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 636).<sup>1</sup>

St. Paul plays on the name of Onesimus (*δνησις*, "profit"), who, after being *ἄχρηστος*, thus belying his name, finally lived up to it and became useful, *εὐχρηστος* (Phil., chap. 11). Another example is found in Genesis (27:36): "Is he not rightly named Jacob [supplanter]? For he has supplanted me these two times."

#### NAMES INAPPROPRIATE

Sed scitis esse notissimum ridiculi genus, cum aliud exspectamus, aliud dicitur.—Cic. *De orat.* ii. 62. 254.

It frequently happens that the character or fate of a person is the very antithesis of that indicated by the name. A mordant pun of this type was made at the expense of a Latin historian by Tertullian (*Apol.* 16): "Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus." Upon a wall at Pompeii some wag wrote: "Verus hic ubi stat, nihil veri" (*CIL*, IV, 1662). Cicero connects the name Caesar with *caedere*: "C. Caesarem, *mitem* hominem et a *caede* *abhorrentem*" (*Sest.* 63. 132).

A rich field for such plays is found in sepulchral inscriptions, in which is recorded the contrast between the hopes and the fate of the deceased:

<sup>1</sup> See also *Ἀρήτη* (*Odys.* vii. 54); *Ὀδυσσεύς* (*Odys.* xix. 409); *Ἐραφος* (Aesch. *Suppl.* 45. 286, Tucker; Aesch. *Prom.* 850-51); *Βόσπορος* (Aesch. *Prom.* 733-34); *Σιδηρώ* (Soph. *Frag.* 658, Jebb).



Hunc Antho [= flos] tumulum male deflorentibus annis  
 pro pietate pari composuere suo.—*Anthol.* 1059.  
 Crescens hic ego sum: fueram spes magna parentum,  
 quod non adcrevi, nomen inane fuit.—*Anthol.* 1196.  
 Cunctis fila parant Parcae nec parcitur ullis.—*Anthol.* 627.<sup>1</sup>  
 Hic situs est infans Victor desertus ab annis,  
 Invidere viro tunc nomina ferre decenter.—*Anthol.* 458.<sup>2</sup>

The punnigram of Felix and Felicitas doubtless greatly consoled them in their bereavement: *Ael. Feliciori Fabacio Felix et Felicitas parentes infelices* (*CIL*, X, 2004).

In the Seven against Thebes (523-24) Parthenopaeus is represented as belying his name:

ὃ δ' ὠμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον  
 φρόνημα, γοργὸν δ' ὄμμ' ἔχων, προσίσταται.

Other instances may be cited: ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθέα καλοῦσιν· αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθέως, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης (*Aesch. Prom.* 85-87); 'Ανάσχετος οὐκ ἀνάσχετος (*Arist. Rhet.* iii. 11. 8).

## GREEK NAMES TRANSLATED

At times we find names of Greek origin practically translated:<sup>3</sup>

Hic tumulatus iacit homo, qui dum vixit habebat  
 magnam Callinomi <καλόν+ὄνομα> vocitatus nomine famam.—*Chol.*, 278.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Parca tenax (*Chol.*, 468); male Parcarum . . . sororum (*Anthol.* 428); non Parca parcit (*Anthol.* 221); non . . . pepercit Parca (*Chol.*, 169); ante diem ruperunt stemina [=non pepercerunt] Parcae (*Eng.*, 153); Parca aetatis nostrae praeripuit colu, i.e., non pepercit (*Anthol.* 1144).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Felicia-infelix (*CIL*, IX, 2140); Felicianus-infelicissimus (*CIL*, X, 365); Felicitas-infelix (*Anthol.* 682); Felicitati infelicissimae (*CIL*, IV, 14799); Felicla-misera (*Anthol.* 1064); Felicula infelix (*CIL*, IX, 1468); Felix-miselle (*Anthol.* 1328); Felix de nomine tantum (*Eng.*, 153); Fortuna infelices (*CIL*, VI, 29201); Fortunata infelicissima (*CIL*, VI, 15352; VI, 29654); Fortunatus-infelix (*CIL*, X, 5555); Gelasimus-Catagelasimus (*Plaut. Stich.* 630); Hilaritas-dolor luctusque (*Eng.*, 213); Phrygi (frugi)-edacem (*Cic. Flacc.* 41); Scatonem (scatere) illum, hominem sua virtute egentem (*Cic. Dom.* 116).

<sup>3</sup> In a passage in *Paradise Lost* (II, 577-83), Milton virtually translates Greek names:

"Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;  
 Sad Acheron of sorrow black and deep;  
 Cocytus, named of lamentation loud  
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton,  
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.  
 Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,  
 Lethe, the river of oblivion rolls . . . "

Nobilis Eugenia <εὐ+γένος> praeclari sanguinis ortu,  
 quae meritis vivit, hic tumulata iacit.—*Anthol.* 1447.  
 Hoc iacet in tumulo secunda Glyconis <γλύκων> honesto.  
 Dulcis nomine erat, anima quoque dulcior usque.—*Anthol.* 495.  
 Stephane <στέφανος>, vitae nostrae dum vivis decus,  
 vere choronam te accepi et mox perdidici.—*Anthol.* 92.  
 Verum Thrasyllus <θρασύς> praeceps alioquin et de ipso nomine temerarius.  
 —Apul. *Met.* 8. 8.

As there is no Latin word for rhodanthion, the writer had to content himself with the statement that "Rhodanthion nomine floris erat" (*Anthol.* 1142).

#### LITERAL MEANING OF NAME DEVELOPED

Ingeniosi enim videtur vim verbi in aliud atque ceteri accipiant posse ducere.—Cic. *De orat.* ii. 62. 254.

At times, when the literal meaning of a word is suggested to a writer or speaker, he decides to "carry on," and to develop the idea thus connoted. This happens very frequently in the case of animal names, of which there are so many in Latin. A clever witticism was suggested by the sight of a group of companions with bird names: "Sedebat ad sinistram ei Cornelius Merula <blackbird>, consulari familia ortus, et Tircellius Pavo <peacock> Reatinus, ad dextram Minucius Pica <magpie> et M. Petronius Passer <sparrow>. Ad quem cum accessissemus, Axius Appio subridens, 'Recipis nos,' inquit, 'in tuum ornithona, ubi sedes inter aves?'" (Varro *Res. rust.* iii. 2. 2).

At the death of Diodotus the rhetorician, Metellus Pius made an allusion to Corax, the founder of the school of rhetoric, by setting up a stone crow. Cicero, having in mind perhaps some flapping gesticulations of Metellus, said that it was a fitting thing to do, since Corax had taught him to fly, not to speak (Plut. *Mor.* 205A). In another place Cicero writes: "Quare coracem istum vestrum patiamur nos quidem pullos suos excludere in nido, qui evolent clamatores odiosi ac molesti" (*De orat.* iii. 21. 81). A disgusted jury dismissed the suit of Tisias against Corax with the contemptuous proverb, κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ῥῶν.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Mr. Crow's of antiquity suffered as much from the ubiquitous punster as anybody.

<sup>1</sup> Spengel, *Artium scriptores*, p. 26.

The name Caninius suggested to Cicero the notion of a watchdog: "Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est; fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit" (*Fam.* vii. 30. 1). When the last letters of the name Verrutium were lost in a smudge, the orator compared them to the tail of a pig sunk in mud: "Videtis Verrutium? Videtis primas literas integras? Videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam verrinam tamquam in luto esse in litura?" (*Verr.* ii. 78. 191). Porcius naturally connotes greediness: "Porcius infra, ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas" (*Hor. Sat.* ii. 8. 23-24).

Nero's musical attainments were duly advertised: "Ascriptum et columnis, etiam Gallos <Gauls and cocks> eum cantando <singing and crowing> excitasse (Suet. *Nero* 45. 2). A complex pun is seen in Cicero's designation of Minotaur for certain colleagues in the praetorship, Calvisius and Taurus (*Fam.* xii. 25. 1). The reason for the last half of the epithet is obvious. The first half was pertinent, since, as Cicero elsewhere tells us (*Fam.* x. 26. 3), Calvisius was *homo magni iudicii*, therein resembling Minos. When a certain Caecilius, who was suspected of Judaism, wished to undertake the prosecution of Verres, Cicero asked, τί Ἰουδαίῳ πρὸς χοῖρον; (*Plut. Cic.* 7).<sup>1</sup>

The word ῥωσικόν led Athenaeus to say that Rhosian ware was εὐανθέστατον (6. 229C). Simonides (13) carries out a figure suggested by an animal name: ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριὸς οὐκ ἀεικέως ἐλθὼν ἐς εὐδενδρον ἀγλαὸν Διὸς τέμενος. Compare Λύκει' ἀραξ, λύκειος γενοῦ (*Aesch. Sept.* 131).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Aper (*Anthol.* 441); odor Aproni taeterrimus (*Cic. Verr.* iii. 9. 23); Aproniani convivi (*Verr.* iii. 11. 28); Apronianum lucellum (*Verr.* iii. 30. 72); Apronium-Verrem alterum (*Verr.* iii. 36. 84); Apronius in agris (*Verr.* iii. 46. 100); Argentea and Silver Age (Burmah, 4. 140); nobilem sui generis, Asinium Dentonem (*Cic. Att.* v. 20. 4; see Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of Cicero*, III, 116); Bivium-de via decessisse (*Cic. Cluent.* 59. 163); Catule, quid latras? (given in indirect form, *Cic. De orat.* ii. 54. 220); florentem Crhysanti famam (*Anthol.* 327); Ligarii (=ligare)-retinendi (*Cic. Lig.* 11. 33); Nummum divisorem (*Cic. De orat.* ii. 63. 257); Plancus (cf. plangere)-in plorando (*Cic. Planc.* 14. 34); Rosa florivit (*Anthol.* 216); Sacerdos failed to act the priest and kill a worthless verres (*Verr.* i. 46. 121); Servius vixit ad aliorum arbitrium, non ad suum (*Cic. Mur.* 9. 19); Tertia-prima (*Chol.*, 146); Tranjo (=picus)-exi nido (*Plaut. Most.* 5); Verres and Erymanthian boar (*Verr.* iv. 43. 95); Verres-in luto volutatum (*Verr.* iv. 24. 53); Verres-Apronius-sui similes-sui simillimum (*Verr.* iii. 9. 22); Vetustilla (*Mart.* 3. 93).

One illustration may be quoted from English:

How sweet and lovely dost thou make the shame,  
Which like a canker in the fragrant Rose  
Dost spot the beautie of thy budding name.<sup>1</sup>

#### HYBRID PUNS

A little Latin and less Greek.

There are several bilingual puns recorded in Latin literature, for example, "Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus et τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus Clodiani filius" (Cic. *Att.* i. 19. 2). The Greek is evidently a proverb with the idea of "pearls before swine." The name Lentulus is played upon by φακῇ, "lens." Tyrrell explains the joke as follows: "There is no use in pouring unguents on lentils, and this important commission is thrown away on such an one as Lentulus."

One of Crassus' sons, who so closely resembled a certain Axius as to throw some suspicion on his mother's honor, made a successful speech in the senate. On being asked how he liked it, Cicero replied in Greek, Ἀξίος Κράσσου (Plut. *Cic.* 25 ad fin.).

When Tibullus wished to camouflage the name of his first love, Plania, he coined the word Delia from δηλος. At the celebrated banquet of Trimalchio a clever slave "took off" now Lyaeus, now Euhius. Turning to him, the master said: "Dionyse, liber esto" (Petr. 41).<sup>2</sup>

#### DISTORTION OF NAMES

And if his name be George, I'll call him Peter.—*King John*.

The humor of miscalling and distortion, of which Americans are so fond, appealed to the ancients also. Roman soldiers made a threefold assault upon the character of Tiberius Claudius Nero by calling him Biberius Caldus Mero<sup>3</sup> (Suet. *Tib.* 42; cf. Aur. Vict.

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, Sonnet 95, lines 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Acontius-ἀκόντιον, ἀκοντίξω (Ovid *Her.* 21. 209); illud nomen aureum Chrysogoni (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 43. 124); Dicaearchus-δικαίαρχοι (Cic. *Att.* ii. 12. 4); Dicaea-δικαίος (Plaut. *Pers.* 438); Hippias (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 25. 62); Lysidicus (λόσις + δίκη)-omnia iura dissolvit (Cic. *Phil.* xi. 6. 14); Philomela ac Progne-hirundines (Plaut. *Rud.* 604); Toxilus-venefice (Plaut. *Pers.* 277-78); Tranio (τερπαίνοι "pierces"; see Fay, *Mostellaria*, p. 64, and notes to 5, 65, 825, 827, 903).

<sup>3</sup> In reply to taunts hurled across No Man's Land, the Canadians used to ask about the health of the "Clown Prince," of old "Von Woodenburg," of old "One O'clock," or "One Bumstiff."



*Epil.* 2. 2). Cato, vexed at the fickleness or inconstancy of Nobilior, called him Mobilior (Cic. *De orat.* ii. 63. 256). On one occasion Mestrius Florus told Vespasian that *plaustra* rather than *plostra* was the correct pronunciation. The next day the Emperor squared accounts by saluting him as Flaurus (Suet. *Vesp.* 22). Before Vespasian's elevation to power one of Nero's ushers told him to go to Morbovia (Suet. *Vesp.* 14). The name Morbovia was coined on the analogy of such names as Gergovia, Segovia, etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE TAUTOLOGICAL PLAY

Eandem rem dicit, commutatis verbis (with apologies to Cic. *Arch.* 8. 18).

In the tautological play an adjective contains a notion already present in the proper name but obscured by the foreign pedigree of the noun. This is perhaps the most subtle as well as the most artistic use of word play. Vergil resorts to it on several occasions: for example, *pluviasque Hyadas* (i. 744; cf. ὕειν, "to rain"), *Plemmyrium undosum* (3. 693; cf. ὑρπειν, "to flow"); *stagnantis Heloi* (3. 698; cf. ἑλος, "the marshy place"), *arduus Acragas* (3. 703; cf. ἄκρος, "height").

We are told that the word Carthage signifies *Civitas Nova* (Sol. 27. 10). Vergil was undoubtedly playing on the etymology of the name in the expression *novae Carthagini* (i. 298, 366).

A good example with a common noun occurs in Shakespeare (*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act I, scene 1, lines 243-45): "So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black oppressing humour . . . ." He knew, of course, that *melan* meant "black."

#### OMENS AND EUPHEMISMS

What's in a name?

Omens derived from proper names and euphemistic proper names are really forms of word play. Some of Cicero's comments on the omens of names deserve quotation:

Itemque in lustranda colonia ab eo, qui eam deduceret, et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Labienus-Rabies (Sen. *Contr.* 10. 5); Theomnastus-Theoractus (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 66. 148).

eligebantur. Quod idem in dilectu consules observant ut primus miles fiat bono nomine. Quae quidem a te scis et consule et imperatore summa cum religione esse servata. Praerogativam etiam maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt [*Div.* i. 45. 102-3].

The same thing was done in court. Cicero thus addresses a certain Valerius (cf. *valere*) who was put on the stand by the opposition: "Quodsi te omen nominis vestri forte duxit, nos tamen id more maiorum, quia faustum putamus, non ad perniciem, verum ad salutem interpretamur" (*Scaur.* 30).

Doubly ill-omened was the name of Atrius UMBER, "nominis etiam abominandi dux" (*Liv.* xxviii. 28. 4), whom the soldiers refused to follow. De Quincey calls it a "pleonasm of darkness." An illustration of a good omen is seen in Livy's description of an expedition to Africa: "Scipio, quod esset proximum promunturium, percunctatus cum Pulchri promunturium id vocari audisset, 'Placet omen,' inquit, 'huc dirigite naves.' Eo classis decurrit, copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt" (*Lib.* xxix. 27. 12-13).

A lucky omen is recorded of Augustus: "Apud Actium descendenti in aciem asellus cum asinario occurrit: homini Eutychus <Fortunatus>, bestiae Nicon <Vincens> erat nomen; utriusque simulacrum aeneum victor posuit in templo, in quod castrorum suorum locum vertit" (*Suet. Aug.* 96. 2).

Failure to heed an omen often brought fatal results: "Adnotatu dignum illud quoque omen, sub quo Petilius consul in Liguria bellum gerens occiderit: nam cum montem, cui Leto cognomen erat, oppugnaret interque adhortationem militum dixisset, 'Hodie ego Letum utique capiam,' inconsideratius proeliando fortuitum iactum vocis leto suo confirmavit" (*Val. Max.* i. 5. 9).<sup>1</sup>

The Greeks too believed that there was some mysterious connection between the name and the fate of a person. At one period

<sup>1</sup> Compare the following omens: Basilides (*Suet. Vesp.* 7); Beneventum (*Plin. H.N.* 3. 105; *Procop.* i. 15. 4); Cauneas (*Cic. Div.* ii. 40. 84); Chelidon (*Cic. Verr.* i. 40. 104); Epidamnus (*Plaut. Men.* 263-64; *Plin. N.H.* 3. 145; see also Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, pp. 232-36); Felicula (*CIL*, IV, 4477); Gaia Caecilia (*Fest.*, p. 95); Καρωβασιλεια (*Val. Max.* i. 5. 6); Persa perit (*Cic. Div.* i. 46. 103; cf. *Val. Max.* i. 5. 3); Saxa (*Cic. Phil.* xi. 5. 12); Segesta (*Fest.*, p. 340M); Stephanus (*Anthol.* 92); Verres (*Cic. Verr.* ii. 6. 18; ii. 7. 19). See also Keller, *op. cit.*, 17, 235; Tyrrell, *Miles Gloriosus*, note on *Lucio* 842.

they thought that words represented the true inwardness or essence of things. It is not strange, therefore, that the meaning attaching to names played an important part in their life. The best illustration of the Greek feeling is seen in Aeschylus' comments on the name Helen, which have been quoted elsewhere.

An instance almost equally illuminating occurs in the *Ajax* of Sophocles (430-33), in which Ajax laments the suitability of his name to his fate:

αἰαῖ· τίς ἄν ποτ' ὦθ' ᾧδ' ἐπώνυμον  
τοῦμὸν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;  
νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δις αἰάζειν ἐμοὶ  
καὶ τρίς. τοιούτοις γὰρ κακοῖς ἐντυγχάνω.

The epigram of Ausonius (20) on bibulous old Meroe is more Greek in feeling than Roman:

Qui primus, Meroe, nomen tibi condidit, ille  
Thesidae nomen condidit Hippolyto<sup>1</sup>  
nam divinare est, nomen componere quod sit  
fortunae et morum vel necis indicium  
Protesilae,<sup>1</sup> tibi nomen sic fata dederunt,  
victima quod Troiae prima futurus eras,  
Idmona<sup>1</sup> quod vatem, medicum quod Iapyga<sup>1</sup> dicunt.  
discendas artes nomina praeveniunt  
et tu sic Meroe: non quod sis atra colore  
ut quae Miliaca nascitur in Meroe.  
infusum sed quod vinum non diluis undis  
potare inmixtum sueta merumque merum.

Even at the dawn of Greek literature names were exercising a controlling influence over one's fate, as we see in the case of Ulysses: πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω . . . τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον (*Odys.* xix. 407-9; cf. i. 62; v. 340; xix. 275-76). Aeneas had no chance to become master of his destiny: τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκα μ' αἰνὸν ἔσχευ ἄχος (*Hymn to Aphr.* 198). The omen of a name may result in a blessing as well as an evil. In a fragment of Pindar Hieron is addressed as follows: ζαθέων ἱερῶν δμῶννυμε πᾶτερ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus < ἵππος + λῦεσθαι; Protesilaus < πρῶτος + λαοῦ; Idmon < εἶδω, "to know"; Iapyx < ἰᾶσθαι, "to heal."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Ἀφροδίτῃ and Περθεύς (*Arist. Rhel.* ii. 23. 28); χαῖρε (*Strabo* 5. p. 220 Casaubon).

The Greek etymological puns quoted elsewhere might be classified here, since they are really omens conveyed by words. It is this character as omens that makes these plays seem not unworthy of grave poetry. The Greeks would not have agreed with Faust that "Name ist Schall und Rauch," or with Juliet that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. "Naming thy name [Rose] blesses an ill report,"<sup>1</sup> would have been more in accordance with the Greek feeling.

Euphemistic changes, such as Maleventum to Beneventum, Fata to Parcae, Nequinum to Narnia, "Ἀξείνος to Εὐξείνος, Ἐρινύες to Εὐμενίδες, are by no means rare. It may be noted too that the Portuguese changed the name of the Cape of Storms to Cape of Good Hope, and that the name Servia now appears as Serbia.

In this paper some three hundred and thirty puns and plays have been quoted or listed. Of these about seventy-five were made by Cicero. As a young man fighting Verres he became addicted to punning, and he was still punning away in the *Philippics*. Were the orations his only surviving works, one might suspect that he was catering to his audience; his letters, however, to the cultured Atticus bristle with word play, and there can be little doubt that he punned as regularly as the sun rose. As is the case with all inveterate punsters, the merit of his efforts was not sustained; not infrequently his witticisms are mere *tours de force*. The fact that a joke was far-fetched and cheap did not prevent its repetition, as we see in the case of Verres and Apronius.

Plays like some of those that Cicero and his fellow-countrymen made would not elicit a smile from us; in fact, the perpetrators would get scant toleration. Puns upon proper names are especially tactless. A great writer or speaker resorts to them only occasionally, and then with an apologetic air. A lawyer who persistently made poor puns at a trial today would probably be rebuked for contempt of court. Styles and fashions in humor change, even if they do not improve.

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare, Sonnet 95, line 8.

## THE MYTH OF IO VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE EAST ARYAN CONCEPTION OF THE EARTH<sup>1</sup>

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Some scholars have held that the mythical geography of the East Aryans was of earlier origin than that of the West Aryans. The opinion is of course open to question, but, whether it is correct or not, all must agree that a careful study of the early geographical ideas of the Asiatic branches of the Aryan family is a legitimate and a most promising method of gaining a correct insight into those of the European branches, and especially those of a branch so late in losing its prehistoric contact with Asia as were the tribes of Hellas. Unfortunately the method has not been employed as often or as thoroughly as it should have been. While disclaiming professionally trained competence for the task, the present writer desires to investigate in a brief paper the interesting question: What light, if any, can the mythical geography of the East Aryans throw upon the wanderings of Io as described by Aeschylus in his *Prometheus Bound*, and upon the geographic ideas of prehistoric Greeks?

Two considerations show that the proposed question is one of no little importance. First, the myth was more than a Hellenic one. The date and place of its origin remain to this day a mystery. Herodotus, for decades a contemporary of Aeschylus, informs us that the tale of Inachos and his daughter Io and of her storied passage from Europe to Egypt was, with varying explanations, handed down among the Persians and even among the Semitic Phoenicians. It was, therefore, not only an international possession but also in all probability an intercontinental heritage from pre-Hellenic ages.

<sup>1</sup> Copyright, William F. Warren, 1919.



The second consideration is the fact that all interpretations of the myth thus far attempted by modern scholars are, in geographical respects, confessed failures. Bunbury, surveying the stages of Io's journey as indicated in the play, concludes by pronouncing the whole list of places a "confused and unintelligible jumble of names and ideas." This judgment is not antiquated, for the two editors of a recent edition of the Greek text in their commentary again and again accuse the poet of geographic errors and paradoxes, deliberately adding: "Aeschylus' geography is so chaotic that we can scarcely be surprised at any misplacement, or condemn any vagary as really beyond his capacity." It should comfort us to know from these and numberless similar testimonies that whatever the outcome of the present investigation it cannot leave the immortal dramatist worse off in reputation for intelligibility and self-consistency than he already is.

Inasmuch as the wanderings we are about to study extend to each of the three continents known to the ancient Greeks, namely Europe, Asia, and Libya, it is reasonable to expect that a correct apprehension of the total journey will throw an important light on their conception of the earth as a whole. Before investigating the data presented in the drama, however, the student will do well to guard himself against prejudging and misjudging the mental powers and attainments of prehistoric observers of nature and natural phenomena. Especially should he give heed to the testimony of our best astronomers as to such matters as the undatable antiquity and high intellectual significance of the zodiac, with its well-defined parallels of celestial latitude and its star-marked twelvefold subdivision. We should further remember that unknown and undatable observers of the heavens discovered in prehistoric ages tiny Mercury, the least, most elusive, and sun-hidden planet of the solar system; also discovered that whether glimpsed before or behind the sun it was one and the same body. Especially should we take to heart the well-weighed words of Simon Newcomb in his Lowell Lectures: "There is no time within the scope of history when it was not known that the earth is a sphere, and that the direction *down*, at all points, is toward the same point at the Earth's centre." With such facts

and testimonies as these in mind then, let us proceed with our investigation.

In our Northern Hemisphere the rudest tribes cannot fail to observe the never-setting circumpolar stars and the center about which they are solemnly and unaccountably moving. Naturally they conceive of the North Pole as the true summit of the earth. They observe that in proportion as one approaches that point the obliqueness of the orbits of the heavenly bodies diminishes, showing that at the point itself the celestial pole, the center and harmonizer of the stellar movements of the universe, would be in its proper place in the zenith. For this and other reasons the oldest known nations all considered the North a peculiarly sacred quarter, and they faced in that direction when addressing the god or gods of heaven. All conceived of the earth as culminating at the Pole in a stupendous mountain which reached into and even above the clouds, and which was overtaken by a peculiar celestial light (the aurora borealis). This culminating mount they described as "the highest of all mountains," sometimes as "the mother and support of all mountains." From its very top flowed a wondrous river, from whose four divergent branches and their countless subdivisions the rivers and lakes of the whole earth received their waters. Being at the Pole, this world-mountain was correctly conceived of as central to all celestial motions, the sun, moon, and stars moving daily around it in *horizontal* orbits. The polestar—Alpha Draconis, or whichever in the lapse of ages it might successively be—was styled the "Centre of Heaven," and the sacred mount itself the "Navel of the Earth." The prehistoric ancestors of the Hindus called this polar mountain Meru, or, because of its celestial beauty, Su-Meru, Meru the Beautiful. The earliest Iranians named it Harâ Berezaiti and ascribed to it the same relations to the heavens and to the water system of the earth as did their neighbors farther east. Overcanopied by the palpitating aurora borealis, its summit was viewed by each people as a divine abode, the lowest of the heavens, and the one giving access to all the higher.

Any people possessing such a mental picture of what we call the overworld could hardly fail to supplement it by adding an

underworld corresponding thereto in its main features. The revolving hemisphere overarching the earth would by logical necessity suggest the existence of a corresponding half-sphere underarching it at like distance beneath. If the heaven-touching polar mount was sacred to the gods and ablaze with light, it would inevitably suggest an antipodal mount beneath the earth, the abode of demons, shrouded in perpetual darkness. In the latter region would be found dragons and griffins, frightful ogres, and all amorphous and misbegotten creatures unfitted for a place in the upper world of light. As in the one mound the abode of living men culminated, so in the other would culminate the abode of the dead. In East Aryan literature the *Sūrya Siddhānta* describes just such a counterposed hemispherical underworld. Indeed the visible Mount Meru, the abode of the gods, is pictured as merely the upper end of a kind of earth core whose lower end is the mount of demons; and so far is the parallelism carried that the treatise places a second polestar as far beneath the south polar mount of demons as the north polestar is above the north polar mount of the gods. This curious conception of the figure of the earth was not confined to the Aryan family. According to Lenormant it can be clearly traced back to the early Babylonians and Assyrians, and even to the Akkado-Sumerian race which preceded these peoples in the Tigro-Euphrates basin. He gives the Akkadian as well as the Assyrian names by which the two antipodal mounts were designated. If he is correct, this view of the form of the earth with matched hemispheres above and below is the oldest traceable in the records of human thought. It adds much to its interest to find that among the Babylonians, as well as the Hindus ancient and modern, in perfect consistency herewith, each human soul was supposed at death to make a long journey *southward*, and to cross a river before reaching the proper abode of the dead in the underworld.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In *Paradise Found*, 11th ed., pp. 117 ff., I have more fully set forth with illustrative diagrams the distinctive features of the earth concept above outlined. In the same work, pp. 328-61, 468-87, is presented striking evidence that Homer's earth also was a sphere—evidence considered conclusive by scholars of international reputation, some of whom are quoted on pp. 454 ff. In articles in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and in my recent work, *Earliest Cosmologies* (New York, 1906), the remarkable agreements of all pre-Homeric world-views are discussed in a way likely to be helpful to readers of the present paper.

This brief outline of the central features of East Aryan cosmography prepares us for our question: In what particulars, if any, do the geographic terms and implications of Aeschylus in describing the wanderings of Io indicate that in its pre-Hellenic form the myth was framed and carried out in conformity with an earth view like that just described?

In responding to this inquiry the following points deserve attention.

1. *The terms in which the dread oracle to Inachos was expressed.*—

In our drama Prometheus and Io are high in the unpeopled north of Skythia. To her he announces her heaven-ordained peregrination from land to land. But first she tells him of her history, her dreams, and of the cruel oracle which compelled her father,

From home and fatherland to thrust [her] forth,  
At large to roam, as consecrate to heaven,  
O'er Earth's remotest bounds.

Here is a clear geographic allusion. Beyond the home and fatherland of the speaker the earth is conceived of as extending away and away to bounds that are remote in a superlative degree. Evidently no roamings about in Greece, or on the populous shores of the Pontus and the Eastern Mediterranean will suffice; those regions were by no means at earth's remotest bounds. Aeschylus elsewhere shows a good knowledge even of India. Furthermore, if the oracle had been—what it is not—a command to march in any one direction from Argos or Skythia to the remotest bound of earth, Prometheus' word would not have been fulfilled by her completing such a march. The definitive words of the oracle are in the plural. If therefore she reaches the utmost bound in any one direction, it remains for her to start for and to attain some other equally or more remote.

2. *The direction in which Io first starts out on leaving Prometheus.*

—According to line 707 this was to be "first" eastward, but if the fragment of the original text preserved to us by Galen belongs here (its expression for "first" is the strongest possible), the announced *first* course is to be northward and in the teeth of "Boreal gales." Of course, if Io is on an earth of the East Aryan type, this due north

journey will ere long bring her to holy Mount Meru, the loftiest of all mountains.

3. *The first-named mountain to be reached by Io.*—In line 719 we read that the northward-moving wanderer is foredoomed to reach a mount "of all mountains the highest." Over its star-nigh summit she will have to make her onward way. These descriptive words, "highest of all mountains," strikingly stress the one characteristic oftenest predicated of Mount Meru. In the text as it reaches us Aeschylus calls this mount the Kaukasos, but it has yet another feature which the poet did not fail to mention, one which has no counterpart in the mountain range known to us moderns as the Caucasus. Let us notice it.

4. *A river out of place, yet precisely where there should be a river.*—Lofty mountains other than this highest of all are ordinarily snow-capped, in which case the first streams proceeding from them are at the base where melting ice escapes at the foot of vast glaciers. If not snow-capped, the rocky summit above the range of vegetation is bare and waterless. Only at a lower level where scrubby trees and bushes permit a storage of rain can we look for the springs whose tiny streams uniting in some distant valley shall together form a river. In the thought of Aeschylus, however, this particular mountain presents a wholly different picture. From its very head, star-nigh, an already formed river is "pouring its strength." The Stanwick translation of the lines reads:

From whose very brow  
The river spouteth forth its might.

This striking feature perfectly agrees with the East Aryan conception of the polar mount from whose star-nigh top descends in like manner the one head stream which waters the whole earth. This same river being described by the Persians in the Bundahish as leaping "down the height of a thousand men," its identity with the "fitly named" and much discussed Hybristes of line 717 is a conjecture well worth considering.

5. *The announced change in the prescribed route from northward to southward.*—According to line 722 the moment Io crosses the star-nigh head of this highest of all mountains she is to proceed



southward. A change in direction from due north to due south seems one of the greatest conceivable, but if ever the reader of this paper shall by aeroplane sail over the Arctic Pole in a course mathematically straight from any point in the horizon, he will at a certain point change his course from due north to due south, and this without deviation a hair's breadth to the right hand or to the left. That point is the Pole. Any pedestrian moving like Io toward it is moving northward, and every one moving away from it is moving southward. Mount or no mount, that point cannot be crossed by any wanderer without a change of forward look from North Pole to South Pole. Accordingly in line 722 we see our onward-moving Io rightly started "southward." Moreover, the preannounced Gorgonian plains of Kisthene, wherever found, can now be reached only by a southward journey.

6. *The unexplored regions through which a right onward march southward must lead.*—In Greek thought Skythia was the northernmost of all European lands. If therefore we think of Io as journeying straight onward from her starting-point, where she had her interview with Prometheus, or northward in the teeth of Boreal gales after two or three days eastward, her course after passing the star-nigh summit can be no other than down and down the back side of the known earth, that is, the side opposite to that on which her father and his people live and move. What is she there to encounter, if her earth corresponds to that of the East Aryans?

7. *In due time inevitably a sunless region, a realm of endless night.*—This the oracle foretells, for in line 730 she is informed that she is to come to that "Kimmerian" neck of land whose occupants, according to Homer, "are covered with shadow and vapor, nor does the shining sun behold them with his beams, neither when he goes toward the starry heaven, nor when he turns back again from heaven to earth." Here then our anticipations are not found misleading.

8. *In due time also an equatorial earth-engirdling ocean stream.*—Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides all show knowledge of the matchless Okeanos River from which all terrestrial rills and rivers are derived. Much confusion, however, has resulted from the efforts of ignorant schoolmen to picture it as merely an annular current of sea-water around the outer edge of the habitable earth viewed

as the upper side of a huge flat disk. Professor Weizsäcker, in his article in Roescher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, is not wholly free from this confusion, but in one passage he is at once clear and correct, the one in which he says of the ocean stream that it is "on the division line between the Upper- and the Under-world." In the East Aryan geography it could not be more correctly located. A crossing of water foretold to Io finds mention at line 730. Her passage of this river, or strait, is to be so extraordinary an achievement that a new and memorial name—the Bosporos—is to be given to the water. Not only that but the oracular voice adds:

And evermore among mankind shall live  
The mighty record of thy passage there.

How fitting this prophecy if Io is to cross Pluto's dark river and to invade his realm of death while yet alive! If the etymology which connects Bosporos with "Hekate Phosphoros" be correct, there is in the name a further association with the river bounding the underworld.

9. *Hadean goblins in the darkness farther on.*—In her journey Io is later to come upon the Phorkides, sisters three, yet non-human in shape, bird-bodied in fact, and so far away from plenary and normal life that one eye and one tooth must serve the three in turn. Think of a bird having use for a *single* tooth, or as having a socket on which to set it! Fortunately Io is not to see them, for them, according to the oracle,

nor the sun beholds  
With radiant beams, nor yet the moon by night.

Certainly Io will now be in the region where dwell "all amorphous and misbegotten beings unfitted for a place in the world of light."

10. *Kisthene, at one of earth's remotest bounds.*—A vital question for Io now is, Where shall Kisthene be found? "Its location is not known," says Professor Mather. So say all modern interpreters. But Kratinos, our most ancient authority, gives us two important pieces of information: (1) it is a "mountain" (2) "at the ends of the earth." In crossing the star-nigh summit of the "highest of all mountains" in the North Io had gone so far north-

ward as to begin nearing southern territory. That was one of the "ends of the earth." Mount Kisthene, to all appearances, is its underworld counterpart, the missing south polar world-mountain of the East Aryan geography. On this assumption the sub-telluric part of the immortal journey becomes clear and is marvelously consistent with the whole. Here Io reaches a second of "earth's remotest bounds." She can descend no farther without beginning to ascend. Here her southward journey gives place to one northward, ever thereafter approaching its goal at Kanobos.

11. *The Gorgonian plains.*—From our poet's description Mount Kisthene seems to be surrounded at its base by the plains belonging to the Gorgons. Of all the grewsome forms that peopled the sunless depths of the Greek Hades the serpent-tressed Gorgons were the most frightful and demonic. As Aeschylus here reminds us, an instantaneous view of one of them was death to any being capable of death. Homer in the *Odyssey* describes them as dwelling—not near the ocean stream on the upper shore of Hades—but far down "in the quarter most remote nightward." This plainly confirms the inference before reached that Mount Kisthene is precisely at the undermost point of the underworld, the Pole itself.

12. *Pluto's river or ford.*—The next geographic feature named by Prometheus is Pluto's river or ford. If Io, in fulfilment of Heaven's decree, is to be brought back from Gorgon land in the world of the dead to a goal in North Libya she will have to recross the earth-engirdling river which separates the continents of life and death. Hence the reference in line 806. Though the act of crossing is not expressly mentioned, it is fully implied, since at this point the wanderer leaves behind her all Hadean Gorgons and chimeras dire, encountering thenceforward only the scenery and the beings appropriate to the sunlit world of living men.

13. *The known side of the earth reached in due course.*—We saw that a straight onward course from Skythia over the star-nigh summit of the Boreal polar mountain would necessarily take one down the unexplored back side of the known earth. In like manner a continuation of that same course to and over Mount Kisthene would without fail bring one into and through southern-most

Libya. This is precisely what Prometheus tells Io is to be her route.

14. *Back again where the lands are flooded with sunlight.*—On emerging from Pluto's dark realm by recrossing his "ford" the most striking of all the changes in her environment and movement would of course be that from walking in utter darkness to moving in a world of light. To happy Io, so long a helpless wanderer in the Stygian gloom, it would now seem as if all the blessed fountains of the sun were suddenly unstopped and were flooding the bright landscape before her (line 808). How vainly have modern interpreters, biased by false ideas of the earth of Io, racked their brains to find some far-fetched reason for this reference to "the fountains of the sun"!

15. *Io's northward trek through Africa.*—Having now left in their proper abode the one-eyed Arimaspians and the griffins and having gained the sun-flooded hemisphere, Io is to find a land "of far-extending boundaries," peopled by living human beings. That these are "swarthy," or "black," is what both East Aryan and West Aryan myth-makers would certainly expect. Next she is to reach a river in Ethiopia. Farther on she must thread the valley of the Upper Nile, move down the famous river past the well-known Cataracts, on to the Delta, where in Kanobos she is to find not only release from Hera's curse, but also the bliss of a happy heaven-imparted motherhood.

Here then in the myth as poetically retold and embellished by Aeschylus we have more than a dozen features and movements giving evidence that in its earlier pre-Hellenic form it was conceived and in its details carried out in conformity with a conception of the earth identical with that of the East Aryans. This evidence is the more remarkable and conclusive from the fact that these congruent features and movements are *serial* and so related to the route prescribed in the oracle that no one of them fails to come to view precisely in its proper topographical and temporal order of sequence. No expert in what the mathematicians call the calculus of probabilities can fail to see the incalculable force and significance of this consideration. George Grote the historian, reviewing our myth in search of light on early Greek thought, did

not hesitate to write: "The route of Io in the *Prometheus* defies all comprehension, even as a consistent picture." One is tempted to respond that any route other than the one above described is incomprehensible; this, however, is in an eminent degree perspicuous and possessed of that harmony of consecutive parts which in all fields of knowledge is one of the chief marks of truthful testimony.

One grave problem, however, remains, and it must not remain unnoticed. How is it that in our only extant texts of Aeschylus this forever memorable passage of a living mortal into and through the world of the dead is reduced to so simple and needless a thing as a short swim across the Bosphorus "from Europe to Asia"? And why should the poet clutter up well-known parts of Asia and Europe with mythological persons and monsters until writers of the ripe scholarship of Bunbury pronounce the result a "confused and unintelligible jumble of names and ideas"? Furthermore, how is it that in *The Suppliants* the very same poet gives so different a route when again describing the same heaven-ordained journeyings?

Two solutions have been attempted. The one assumed that the text form in our hands is impaired by so many lacunae and by clerical errors so great that the undoubted perfection of sense in the prize-crowned original is hopelessly lost. In our day, however, it would be difficult to find a defender of this view. The other explanatory hypothesis is that the poet and his auditors were so ignorant of the lands and waters about them that they really supposed each tribe and river named to be just where the lines of the impetuous muse, reflecting varying traditions, have left them. The obvious difficulty with this theory is that Aeschylus lived and wrote in a city world-famous for its intelligence, and that his extant writings, few as they are, give proof of a remarkable knowledge of peoples and places and customs in each of the three continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. The problem therefore remains, confronting every interpreter. Shall we say, The drama is a bitter satire, representing Asia as the abode of the dead, or of demons, or of goblins, but Europe as the only proper world for living men and lovers of the light? This can hardly be, though the stern-faced poet had personally fought in the great contest to



repel Asiatic autocracy and may have been stirred to anger by some Persian hymn of hate. Shall we say, The poet was a humorist of rarest quality, who drew and delighted his theater crowds by weaving into a masterly travesty of a tale familiar in every household hits and allusions, personal, local, and racial, all so witty and recondite that at this distance in time and space we cannot be expected to "catch on" and enjoy the fun? This would be to challenge not only the tradition of the schools but even the rendered and recorded verdict of mankind. Let us hope that in some fair year, not too far beyond the terrors and devastations of the recent world-war, the spade of the archaeologist may restore to us works now registered as long lost, and that by the happy recovery of these the long-standing mystery of the poet's treatment of the myth of Io may be at last cleared up. Meantime teachers carrying classes through the *Prometheus*, the *Odyssey*, or any similar Greek masterpiece, and eager to employ methods effective in calling out the interest of pupils, will find in cosmographic researches like the foregoing, if only they will attempt them in a rational way, not only illuminating interpretations of many a dark passage, but also a new and greatly heightened appreciation of Hellenic literature and its study.

## THE VALUE OF THE TRADITIONS RESPECTING THE EARLY KINGS OF ROME<sup>1</sup>

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A re-examination of the ancient literary evidence combined with the results of the archaeological discoveries made in Italy during the last fifty years led me long since to reject the theories of Theodor Mommsen respecting the ethnical relation of the patricians and plebeians, the origin of the Roman monetary system, the unit of assessment under the "Servian" constitution, and the provenance of the Etruscans. I now propose to examine the grounds on which Mommsen, though fully admitting the existence of a regal period at Rome, which had preceded the Republic, yet refused to mention even the name of Tarquinius Superbus, with whom the monarchy was said to have come to an end, or that of Servius Tullius, with whom was connected not only the Great Wall but also the constitution which gave the plebeians the right of citizenship. Mommsen rejected the traditional account as of little or no value (1) because the state archives had perished in 390 B.C., when the Gauls burned the Capitol, and (2) on the ground that as there are supernatural elements in the stories of the regal period, such as the presence of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, these stories are to be rejected *in toto* as unhistorical.

I propose to test this method of dealing with tradition by criteria taken from modern times. If it should turn out that oral tradition may be safely relied on for the main outlines of outstanding events in the life of a family, a community, and of a nation, and that too in an age when there is much more to distract the attention from family trivialities and petty local events, the value of such local traditions must have been far greater at an epoch when people

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England at Windsor, Connecticut, on March 22, 1918.

had little else of which to think and talk than the simple annals and leading events of their own families and of their town, outside the limits of which they seldom or never moved.

But first of all it is by no means clear that *all* Roman records were lost, for we are told that many of the inhabitants made their way with what they could save across the Tiber to Caere, whence they returned to their own homes as soon as the Gauls withdrew. We have no right to assume that they did not bring with them their most important and portable heirlooms, such as the *imagines* of their ancestors, weapons and ornaments, all of which serve as valuable mnemonics. Moreover, their absence from Rome was of so short duration that there was no break in their recollection of everything connected with the city, such as its Great Wall and its great main sewer, the Cloaca Maxima. But as family records were often bound up with civic history because members of leading families regularly held important offices in the community or state, and nowhere was this more the case than at Rome, there would be among the family relics brought to Caere and brought back thence valuable material for the re-writing with some accuracy of the annals of the state in their main features.

Moreover, there were great monuments in Rome itself that were not burned by the Gauls, such as the Great Wall and the Cloaca Maxima, and we may without rashness believe that during their brief absence at Caere or elsewhere the Romans would not have forgotten the names of those who according to tradition had constructed these very important works. But the names of certain kings were bound up with these great structures and also with certain events of primary importance in every community, such as the revolution which converted the monarchy into a republic (a fact admitted by Mommsen himself) and the framing or development of a constitution which for the first time enfranchised the plebeians. There is therefore no *prima facie* reason for condemning offhand the truth of the tradition which associated the overthrow of the monarchy and the setting up of the republic with the names of Tarquinius Superbus and his sons and the constitutional change with Servius Tullius, the reputed builder of the great fortification on which the safety of the city in no small degree depended.

The expulsion of the kings, according to our reckoning, took place about 509 B.C. The last king was said to be Tarquinius Superbus, who began to reign, according to the traditional chronology, about 534 B.C., and who was said to have lost his throne from his own tyranny, culminating in the rape of Lucretia by his son, Sextus. Tarquin had become king after the murder of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, and of his brother, Aruns. But such events are neither unusual nor startling in any age. Servius, the reputed lawgiver and builder of the Great Wall, began to reign (so said tradition) in 578 B.C., having then succeeded to Tarquinius Priscus. The latter was reputed to be the builder of the Cloaca, a fact of some significance, since if the stories of the building of the Wall and the Cloaca were mere legendary figments we might well have expected that both the great buildings would be ascribed to Servius Tullius or to Tarquin. But since they are not ascribed to one, it is reasonable to conclude that the traditional statement respecting both the great works is correct. Tarquinius Priscus had succeeded Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa, in 618 B.C., Ancus had succeeded Tullus Hostilius in 642 B.C., while Tullus Hostilius had succeeded Numa in 673 B.C.

The expulsion of the Tarquin in 509 B.C. was only 119 years before the Gallic occupation of Rome in 390 B.C., while Servius Tullius began to reign in 678 B.C., i.e., less than 190 years before the same date.

Let us now test the value of local tradition for events which happened 119 years ago; then for 128, 140, 185, 230, and finally 268 and even 300 years ago.

I must now entreat your patience for inflicting upon you some personal recollections and family traditions of things of little matter save to a single family of no great importance and to a small community. As a schoolboy in 1868, the year of the Fenian rebellion, I was drilled by an old sergeant, Holton, who had the Waterloo and Peninsular War Medals, and who was then eighty-two, but erect and alert. He was therefore born in 1784, and not only had he fought through the Peninsular War as a full-grown man, but he remembered clearly the Irish Rebellion of 1798, that is, 120 years ago, a period longer than that said to intervene between the expulsion

of Tarquin and the burning of Rome by the Gauls. Not only did I know this old soldier, but as a boy I conversed with dozens of persons who remembered the Rebellion of 1798 and gave me all sorts of details about events of that date. These persons included my maternal grandfather. As my home lay in the very seat of the Rebellion, such persons were intimately acquainted with many of those who had taken an active part in the operations. It would therefore be absurd to contend that their statements respecting the occurrence of a bloody outbreak and its stern suppression, statements which I am only now writing down for the first time, have no historical value. My paternal grandfather was an officer of yeomanry at that period and took an active part in the struggle with the rebels. As there were no English troops available the Anglo-Irish yeomanry and militia had to meet and defeat the French when they landed at Bantry and Killala on the south and west and had to suppress the rebellion in the English Pale and its contiguous districts. The rebels began by burning a body of troops with their women and children in the barracks at Prosperous, County Kildare, only five miles, as the crow flies, from our home. At the little town of Rathangan, close by, they murdered Mr. Spencer, a squire, a connection of my family, and besieged seventeen yeoman, who stoutly defended a house until their ammunition was expended. They then surrendered on condition that they would be allowed to march out with all the honors of war. No sooner were they in the street than they were all piked or shot. One of them, named Watson, was shot through the forehead. He was a native of our parish, and his body was later interred there in the parish churchyard. My father and others often showed me his grave among those of his kindred, who still flourish in that parish. When I was about fifteen one of the Watson family died, and, as their burial plot was full, the grave of the slain yeoman was opened to receive his descendant. To my delight, when I went with boyish curiosity to see the open grave, there was a large, strong skull well preserved, with a bullet hole through the frontal bone. I tried to secure the skull by putting it into a brake hard by, but John Jenkinson, the sexton, foiled my first attempt at body snatching, for he discovered the skull before the grave was filled in and very



properly buried it carefully. But the bullet hole was certainly there, as tradition stated it ought to be.

I know all about the battle of Rathangan, when the rebels were defeated and the town retaken. My grandfather rode a white horse that day, rather a bad one, for he did not like to risk one of his good horses. I know how after a struggle in which the yeomanry suffered severely, as the rebels had their front covered by garden walls, a river, and a canal, the troops at last forced their way across the bridge into the town; and how, as my grandfather was hot in the pursuit, a rebel turned and discharged his musket at him but missed him (or I would not be writing this), and before the rebel could stir he cleaved his skull with his sword. As the man turned over on his back my grandfather recognized a well-known local rat-catcher. Later in the year my grandfather caught two of the leaders of the Rebellion, Colonel Perry, a Protestant, and Father Kearns, a Roman Catholic priest. I know the very spot in Derry-more where he overtook them; how, as Colonel Perry was saying to my grandfather, who had called on them to surrender in the King's name, "It is no use, Sir, denying who we are: I am Colonel Perry and this is Father Kearns," the priest drew a pistol and was just aiming at my grandfather, when Robinson, his orderly, cried, "Look out, Sir!" and at the same moment knocked the pistol out of the priest's hand and secured him. My grandfather brought the prisoners to his house at Ballydermott, two miles distant, mounted them on two horses, one a fine black mare called Belle, tied the prisoners' legs under the horses' bellies, and brought them to Edenderry, the neighboring town, where they were immediately tried by court-martial by his granduncle, Mr. Shaw Cartland, who had an extraordinary commission for the suppressing of rebellion. They were at once hanged from the spreading branch of a great tree. I need not go into all the details, though I have full particulars. Myths at once arose in the case of the priest. One of our laborers, by name Jem Kearney, used to declare that the mare on which the priest rode walked lame from that day forth, though the family averred that she did not go lame until some years later, when she got a strain. Moreover, it was market day in Edenderry, and I was often told by servants and other country folk that it

rained blood that day after Father Kearns's execution, and that the white caps of the women, as they returned from market, were all besprinkled with blood. Years after I knew these stories by heart I was shown in Musgrave's *History of the Irish Rebellion* a brief account of the capture of the rebel leaders by my grandfather. Thus the local and family tradition in this respect was absolutely accurate about events trivial in themselves but important to the family and the locality with which they were connected. It is needless to say that the priest's pistol was carefully preserved by my family.

In 1790 our family home was burned to the ground on St. Stephen's night. I know all the details, with which I need not weary you, except that the country people and laborers who came to help were already "with drink taken," in honor of the day, and that when they found a puncheon of whiskey waiting to be bottled off they at once knocked in its head, and nothing more could be done with them. Everything was burned, pictures, books, even the family Bible, documents—except three pieces of furniture (which I possess), plate, and jewelry. The destruction of the Bible and documents is important, for here we have in the case of one family an occurrence analogous to that which befell the Roman public archives. The guns and other weapons had also all perished, so that these important mnemonics were lost forever.

I know much about my great-grandfather, who died in 1795, his physique and complexion, from descriptions given to me by men who knew him well, the breed of dogs that he kept, including some half-dozen great Irish wolf-dogs kept, not for hunting wolves, which by that time were extinct, though not very long before, in Ireland, but as a protection on journeys against rapparees and highwaymen who might be lurking in the woods and scrubs along the roadsides. Finally I know all about his wedding in 1772, through information derived from my maternal grandmother, whose father was present at the ceremony in 1772, that is, 148 years ago. I have a brooch which the bridegroom gave his bride on that day, with their initials wrought in pearls.

Let us now turn to the story of Servius Tullius and the tradition of his Great Wall and constitution. Tradition made him reign

from 578 B.C. to 533 B.C., when he was murdered by Tarquin the younger in 533 B.C., that is, only 148 years before the Gallic invasion in 390 B.C., while the building of the Wall and the great constitutional change must have occurred well within 200 years before that date.

Now if it can be shown that a piece of engineering on a much less important scale than that of the "Servian" wall, and one which ended in complete failure, still bears to this hour the name of its unfortunate engineer, we shall have good reason for believing the truth of the Romans' tradition respecting the builder of that great fortification on which their security depended.

About 1740 the Irish government determined to improve communication between Dublin and the west by making a road, on the Roman principle of going in a straight line, from Dublin to Athlone on the Shannon, the key of Connaught at all times. The road was made without difficulty over the uplands of Dublin and Kildare, but when it came to the great bog of Allen the troubles began. When the engineer, by the name of Moss, reached the high bog on the watershed between the upper waters of the Boyne and the Barrow and the deep peat bog formed on a limestone cup on Ballydermott Bog, he found the task hopeless. The country people still tell how the men on going to work in the morning found that the materials piled up to form the road on the previous day had been engulfed in the deep morass. On the western side of this bog where it thins out to the uplands a fine road, still serviceable, was constructed, the materials for it being obtained from a huge pit on the side of what is termed in England a "park," but more modestly called a "lawn" in Ireland. This has long formed a picturesque piece of water embosomed in trees, and to this hour is known as "Moss's Hole," and the road and its various fragments across the bogs and the lonely hills toward the west, where like disasters dogged the hapless engineer, bear to this hour the name of "Moss's Road." The imprudent folklorist might readily see in the name of Moss's Road the name of a fairy artificer, such as Wayland Smith. But the Acts of the Irish Parliament contain most definite information concerning the plans for the making of this road, and there can be no doubt that the name of the luckless engineer was

Moss. Now if the name of an engineer of a road that was as complete a failure as the Tay Bridge of Sir Thomas Gouge can survive among the very sparse and scattered population of the lonely bog-land for a period as long as that which Roman tradition placed between the building of the Servian wall and 390 B.C., *a fortiori* the Romans, who lived in a city and daily and hourly had before their eyes the great Agger, must have remembered with perfect accuracy the name of its builder, and although every scrap of documentary evidence had been destroyed in Rome, the Romans after 390 B.C. could have written down with substantial accuracy the name of its builder and the main facts of its construction. The same method of argument will hold good for the substantial truth of the tradition which assigns to Tarquin the elder the building of the Cloaca Maxima.

It must be remembered that in all countries, even in our own, to this hour the state chronology is commonly based on the reign of its kings and queens; and as at Rome the state chronology was reckoned by the consulate it is reasonable to suppose that under the kings events were dated by the reign, as is the case with semi-civilized communities in Africa, such as that of Uganda, where the succession of kings for at least three hundred years has been kept with great care among a people who have not the art of writing. We have already noted the fact that the Roman families kept their records with the utmost care, and as the *imagines* of their ancestors, especially of those who had held important offices, were bound up with the religious life of the family, and as these family records were not confined to the republican times but went back into the regal period, we have another tough strand for the rope of tradition. Moreover, the family heirlooms, such as signets, spears, and swords, which belonged to ancestors would help greatly the accuracy of the traditions.

What can be done in this way by quite unimportant families could be readily shown. I will cite only a couple of family traditions lately verified. The first is that of a family seal dating from about 1650, which was said to have passed by marriage into another family, thus leading to a bitter squabble in the eighteenth century. This was lately confirmed, not by me, but by the Deputy Ulster

King at Arms (to whom I had given the story as I knew it). From documents in the record office, Dublin, of which I knew nothing, it was clear that the seal had passed by marriage to the other family in 1732. This story has therefore been handed down for more than 180 years with substantial accuracy. We had also a tradition that our immediate forefather, who settled at Ballydermott, King's County, had come there in 1626, after the troublous times of James II, and had not come there directly from the first family settlement (when it came from Devonshire) at Gallen-Ridgeway in Queen's County, but from Dublin. An Exchequer bill now proves that this was perfectly accurate, save that the actual date of settlement was 1693. Now these two cases are all the more remarkable, as all family records had perished by fire in 1790. Longevity in families must of course be a substantial aid toward accuracy of tradition, as the fewer are the steps the more trustworthy will be the story. But in the case of my family this factor does not enter, as none of my direct paternal ancestors for ten generations has lived beyond sixty-three, two of them dying at the age of thirty-six.

Let us now turn to public events in the seventeenth century. We have just seen the accuracy of family tradition in so trivial a matter as a quarrel over a seal with a coat-of-arms. Popular memory respecting important public events is just as retentive and accurate. In my boyhood there was not a person in the English Pale who was not intimately acquainted with the main events in the war of James II and William III. They would tell how "Dirty Jimmy" ran away at the battle of the Boyne and left the Irish to their fate. Thus the tradition of events which occurred 228 years ago was perfectly preserved by the oral tradition of people, most of whom could neither read nor write. Yet the same period, if added to 390 B.C., would bring us back to 618 B.C., the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the reputed builder of the Cloaca Maxima.

I have in my possession a "choke" bayonet with J R and a crown, used at the battle of the Boyne and never out of the possession of a private family to this hour. I have also a fine green-velvet saddlecloth, richly embroidered with silver lace, a holster to



match, and the saddle, taken from a French officer killed near Clonard in the retreat from Dublin to Aughrin, which remained down to modern times in the family of the man who took it from its owner. Thus relics of undoubted genuineness serve as important aids to tradition.

But we can get back still farther. Down to modern times there has not been a peasant in all Eastern and Southern Ireland who has not known perfectly well that Oliver Cromwell had come to Ireland and had suppressed the last great struggle of the Irish chieftains in combination with the lords of the Pale against England. "The curse of Cromwell take ye" to this hour is still one of the heartiest malisons used in all Ireland, certainly in the English Pale. Yet Cromwell fought this campaign in 1648-50, that is, 268 years ago, a period which if added to 390 B.C. would bring us back to 658 B.C., that is, to the reign of Tullus Hostilius, who began to reign in 673 B.C. That events of even minor importance can be remembered as accurately back to Cromwell's time was proved in a law court in Ireland in 1884. In 1651 Cromwell planted two regiments of his Ironsides in Tipperary, the one under Colonel Matthew, the other under Colonel Prittie. The colonels planted their troopers on the lands granted to them. The descendants of Colonel Prittie became barons of Dunally, Tipperary County, and treated the descendants of the troopers with great kindness, the rents not having been raised for a century. In 1884, after the Land Act of 1882, two of the Dunally tenants appealed for a reduction of their rents. My brother-in-law, Mr. Arthur Samuels, K.C., M.P., etc., the present Irish solicitor-general, had a brief in the case. An old farmer named Armitage was called to give evidence respecting the custom of the estate. He was ninety-two, and he told the court that he remembered his grandfather, who lived until he was over ninety years of age, and that his grandfather had talked with some of the men who came with Cromwell. The old man naturally was subjected to a severe cross-examination, but he gave his dates and facts with such clearness that the land commissioners were convinced by his statements, and the case was dismissed. Thus there was in 1884 but one step between old Armitage and English troopers who settled in Tipperary in 1651.

We can go even farther, however. Although these troopers were mostly young men when they settled in Ireland, yet each of them must have known in England those who were old enough in 1588 to remember the coming of the Spanish Armada, when—

From Eddystone to Berwick Bounds, from Lynn to Milford Bay,  
The time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day.

Thus between 1588 and 1884, i.e., nearly three centuries, there were but two steps in the tradition. But at Rome this would take us back to 690 B.C., that is, to the traditional reign of Numa Pompilius, who set up the temple of Janus in the Forum and was himself the first Flamen Dialis.

With regard to the value of the tradition of the battle of Lake Regillus and the other legends of the regal period in which supernatural agencies make their appearance, we ought to bear in mind, in the first place, that in 390 B.C. there must have been people still living in Rome who had known and conversed with individuals who remembered the overthrow of the monarchy in 509 B.C., and the chief incidents, such as battles, in that struggle. In the next place, there seems no reason to doubt that Macaulay was right in assuming that the Romans, like other peoples, such as the Greeks, Hindus, Anglo-Saxons, and Irish, had ancient lays and sagas embodying the most important events in their annals. Indeed Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* i. 79. 10) explicitly states that there were such lays, and we know that he drew his information from excellent earlier sources, such as the *Origines* of Cato. It is very unlikely that the mere shock of the Gallic inroad would have made every Roman forget forever these ancient tales and songs. Moreover, there must have been in Roman families weapons and pieces of armor which had been used for generations before the Gallic invasion and had been borne in important battles. The value of such mnemonics I have already illustrated by the pistol of Father Kearns and the "choke" bayonet, saddle, and saddlecloth used at the battle of the Boyne. There can therefore be little doubt that the public and private tradition at Rome was thoroughly capable of remembering and transmitting with tolerable accuracy all the chief episodes in the expulsion of the Tarquins.

Nothing is left but to deal with the supernatural elements, for example, the intervention of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, when—

Fast, fast the great Twin Brethren came spurring from the East—  
From where with songs and dances their ancient mansion rings  
In lordly Lacedaemon, the city of two kings.

But we have seen above that when Father Kearns, the Roman Catholic priest, was captured and hanged in 1798 myths quickly sprang up that the mare on which he rode to his doom became permanently lame, and that the heavens rained blood that day. Most people know that at the time of the immortal retreat of "the contemptible little British Army" from Mons in 1914 a story was started and spread with lightning rapidity that angels had intervened between the German pursuers and the hard-pressed English troops. Yet no one will deny not only that the retreat from Mons is a historical fact but that the Irish Rebellion and the execution of Father Kearns in 1798 are no less real. In view of these considerations we are led to conclude that the occurrence of supernatural incidents in the stories of famous events, not necessarily of remote date, does not invalidate the historical value of the main facts in the tradition. We must therefore reject Mommsen's method in dealing not only with early Roman but with all other early history.

## Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### OUR NEEDED RENAISSANCE

One of Professor Browne's essays in *Our Renaissance* served me as the text for some remarks (*Classical Journal* for October, 1918, pp. 78 ff.) on the difficulties that at the present day beset the teaching of Latin in most of the secondary schools in our country, including the overwhelming majority of public high schools. Mr. Poynter, of Phillips Andover, in the number of the *Journal* for January, 1919, pp. 264 f., charges me with devoting that part of my article to "strictures on the teachers of classics in the secondary school." I have now re-read with careful attention my impugned sentences, and humbly beg leave to demur to Mr. Poynter's indictment. My article contains no strictures on the teachers of classics in the secondary school. If Mr. Poynter's withers are unwrung, so are mine. All the strictures are directed against the results of the reformed educational system that it was proclaimed would free the secondary schools (and their pupils) from a tyrannical and intolerable burden, and make it possible for the schools to send the colleges better instead of worse prepared students than under the old scheme. This hopeful assurance was the *quid pro quo* offered to the colleges for the surrender of their attribute of sovereignty in the prescription of the character and amount of intellectual possessions that proposed immigrants into their realm must exhibit to their examiners at the frontier. There was the assurance and the hope. I repeat that notoriously it has not been justified by the result. And the teachers of Latin in the secondary schools—able, experienced, skilful, and zealous teachers—report from their side that they are having a harder time than ever to get pupils, to hold pupils, and to train pupils. Yet the colleges can no longer be blamed for it as dictating to the schools. The armistice to which the colleges were compelled amounts to a surrender at discretion (I said in my former article that the exceptions were so few as to be negligible). The truth of my summary characterization of existent conditions even Mr. Poynter does not contest (except in one particular of which I am about to speak), in spite of the natural sensitiveness of a man who (though mistakenly, as I have said) thinks himself blamed. I repeat my former question: "Is not the condition a serious one which demands remedy?"

With Mr. Poynter's plea in abatement, based on the specific conditions which his great and famous school has to confront, I am in complete sympathy in principle. But I must say, under correction, that it is not relevant to the

issue. He writes as a man might have done a generation ago, before this present reform movement was inaugurated—as if the college were still its own master and the dictator to the preparatory schools. That is because one, or perhaps two or three, of the colleges for which he has to prepare students yet holds on to its authority of prescription and strict examination for admission. I, on the other hand, was talking, not about the few surviving exceptions, the existence of which I expressly conceded, but about ninety-nine one-hundredths of the preparatory schools and colleges in these United States. Is it possible that Mr. Poynter does not know what has been going on outside of the antique and comfortably secluded New England circle of Brahminism, and so did not really apprehend what I was referring to?

I would like to stop here; but Mr. Poynter would then think me not merely irreverently flippant but evasive. I must say a word about his denial of my statement that the pupil had no more time to accomplish his preparation in Latin under the old system than at present. My statement still appears to me perfectly true for all but those very few exceptional cases such as I had already conceded. I observe now that I did not expressly include in exception the schools that prepare boys for the tiny number of colleges that I had excepted from my statement. For this oversight—it could hardly, I should think, have been misleading—I beg pardon. But the schedules of schools that I have examined, and those of which I have heard reports from others, appear to support my contention so far as class hours are concerned in that immense majority of schools about which I was writing. The various ways in which the requisite number of “units” for admission to college can be compounded, and the freedom of election in the schools, seem to have left the number of class hours assignable to Latin substantially unimpaired by the reform in general system. At Phillips, which has been little, if at all, affected by the movement to which I have referred, the conditions of class work in Latin appear even more favorable in mere time-table reckoning now than formerly, according to Mr. Poynter’s own statement. The earlier boy there had four one-hour periods of Latin each week to prepare for; the boy of today has five. This is presumably the schedule for four years. But Mr. Poynter says that many a lad of his own pupil-days spent three, four, or even five hours in preparation for many a Latin lesson, where now the pressure is so great that a lad (presumably as able and industrious as his predecessor) cannot give “much more than an hour and a half” to the similar task. I will dare certain assertions after the manner of Mr. Poynter’s. The first is that in the ancient days I and my high-school classmates were well trained in Latin, almost within hearing of Andover bells, and I do not believe that the brighter among us, unless on rare occasions, ever needed to or the duller ever did spend “much more than an hour and a half” in preparation for a single lesson; the second is that if the average Latin teacher of the present day could count on an average period of preparation from each pupil of “not much more than an hour and a half” per lesson—I refer to time spent in real study, not in dilly-dallying—



he (she, I mean) would not be forced to the piteous appeal for a still greater reduction in the total amount to be read, on the ground that her pupils in the fourth year of their study of Latin cannot be successfully solicited to cover an average of thirty lines of Cicero in one lesson. The "pressure," if it be pressure, that produces this lamentable condition is not due to the colleges; they are limp as a flaxseed poultice. How about the effect on the pupil's mentality and volition of declining instead of improving home conditions, of clubs and societies, of movies and motor-cars, of organized and predominant athletics and social functions, of a prolongation of infancy in things intellectual and a precocious maturity in other matters?

The problem still awaits. What are we going to do about it?

E. T. M.

ON ODYSSEY xiv. 138-47

"οὐ γὰρ εἴτ' ἄλλον  
ἦπιον ὧδε ἄνακτα κιχήσομαι, ὅππός' ἐπέλθω,  
οὐδ' εἴ κεν πατὴρ καὶ μητέρος αὐτίς ἴκωμαι  
οἶκον, ὅθι πρῶτον γενόμεν καὶ μ' ἔτρεφον αὐτοί.  
οὐδέ νυ τῶν εἴτι τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, ἰέμενός περ  
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι ἔων ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.  
ἀλλὰ μ' Ὀδυσσῆος πόθος αἰνυται οἰχομένοιο.  
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν, ὧ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ'  
ὀνομάζειν  
αἰδέομαι· πέρι γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο  
θυμῷ.  
ἀλλὰ μιν ἡθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἰόντα."

The point of vss. 145-47 is generally missed and has never been made with sufficient clearness. Editors usually adopt one or the other of two interpretations: (1) Eumaeus hesitates to mention *the name of the absent* (like the disciples of Pythagoras [Iamblichus, *de vita Pythag.*, 35] and certain Polynesian tribes). This is impossible, both because of vs. 167, οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς εἴτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται, where the swineherd names his absent master without apology, and because of the phrases καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' (145), καὶ νόσφιν ἰόντα (147), which indicate that if Odysseus were present his name would be used still less properly. (2) The swineherd is apologizing for speaking the name of a master whom he reverences and loves, *without the addition of some respectful epithet*. This is the first explanation offered by Eustathius; it fails to give the full force of ἡθεῖος, and it makes the ending of the swineherd's speech rather weak.

As often, the alternative interpretation of Eustathius (1754, 52 ff.) throws most light on the passage: "According to another rendering he [Eumaeus] says, 'I should not wish to call him Odysseus, for that is what a stranger would do; nor δεσπότης, for he was not such to me. So I call him ἡθεῖος, because of

his brotherly kindness.' Notice the exceeding love of Eumaeus for Odysseus." This is exactly what the context requires. Eumaeus has said (vss. 137 ff.) that his grief for his master is greater than for his father and mother; that a yearning for Odysseus seizes him. If we remember that the Greek language has no stronger word than *πρόθος* to express the love for an absent one, we must, I think, interpret vss. 145-47 somewhat as follows: "[I love him so much that] even though he is not here I am ashamed to call him [coldly and formally] Odysseus. . . . Nay, even though he is absent [I use the most appropriate title of affectionate address:] I call him Elder Brother" (a term used not only by Paris [*Iliad* vi. 518] and by Menelaus [*Iliad* x. 37] in addressing their brothers, but also by the supposed Deiphobus, dearest of all his brothers to Hector, in speaking to the latter [*Iliad* xxii. 229, 239; cf. 233-34], and by Achilles when greeting the shade of Patroclus [i.e., *ἡθείη κεφαλῇ*, *Iliad* xxiii. 94]). It is not respect or reverence alone, nor is it a scruple against using the name of the absent which prompts Eumaeus. It is rather the love which has made the swineherd regard his master as more to him than father and mother—a love which in this respect is similar to that felt by Andromache for Hector (*Iliad* vi. 429: "Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι εἶσι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ).

Homer ennobles both the nurse and the swineherd: the one is *δῖα γυναικῶν*, the other, *δῖος ὑφορόβης*. Although both are of princely blood it may be queried whether their best claim to the title of nobility does not after all rest upon their deep love for Odysseus. As the emotion of Eurycleia is described in the foot-washing scene in Book xix, so in the lines under discussion the poet depicts the pent-up passion of Eumaeus. The failure to note the real meaning of the passage has robbed the swineherd's portrait of its most poetic touch.

SAMUEL E. BASSETT

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT  
BURLINGTON, VERMONT

## Current Events

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[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

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### Illinois

*Chicago.*—The Chicago Classical Club held its sixteenth meeting with a dinner at the Hotel La Salle on February 8. Superintendent Mortenson, of Chicago, was present and spoke informally; Dr. Keith Preston, of Northwestern University, read selections from his verse translations and other poems; Professor George L. Tenney, of Lewis Institute, sang two Latin songs. There was also a discussion of the topic: "What is to be the future influence of German Scholarship?" Ten-minute speeches were made by Professors R. J. Bonner, G. J. Laing, J. A. Scott, J. T. Hatfield, and H. L. Willett.

The Club is planning to publish a yearbook during the coming year.

### Iowa

*The University of Iowa.*—The nine sets of slides on "Life Among the Romans" which were prepared by the late Professor Eastman are to be again offered for sale. These cannot be rented by any school outside of Iowa. To the schools of that state these slides are loaned by the Extension Department of the State University.

Mr. O. E. Klingaman, who is director of this department and has had supervision of these slides, makes the following statement in regard to their usefulness: "The Latin lantern slides which were prepared for this department by the late Professor Eastman proved so effective in helping the students and teachers of Latin, especially in the secondary schools, that the number of students in our high schools studying Latin was more than doubled in three years' time. They are the most popular of all the lantern slides which we send out from this division for high school use."

### Massachusetts

The twelfth annual meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts section of the Classical Association of New England was held on Saturday, February 15, at Boston University. The program follows: Joint meeting (Forum: "The

Classics and Reconstruction") with the recently formed Classical Club of Greater Boston. "Welcome," by Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard University, president of the section; "The Classical Club of Greater Boston," Professor A. H. Rice, of Boston University; "The Classically Trained Man—his service to the *ideas* of Reconstruction," R. D. Weston, Esq., of the Massachusetts Bar; "The Classically Trained Man—His Service to the *Facts* of Reconstruction," Professor A. E. Kennelly, of Harvard University. "Present-day Tendencies in Classical Departments of the Women's Colleges," Professor Alice Walton, of Wellesley College; "The Classics as a Preparation for the *Civics* of Reconstruction," Rev. Willard Reed, co-principal of Brown and Nichols School, Cambridge.

At the close of each paper fifteen minutes were allowed for discussion.

### Missouri

*The University of Missouri.*—Miss Emily Hardesty sends the following account of an interesting experience of her class in Caesar: "The seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of Caesar's *Gallie War* stands out conspicuous in the memory of the oldest as well as of the youngest of the followers of the great Julius. Each second-year high-school class, when once safely across the Gallic river, takes a ghoulish joy in creating panic in the ranks of the next class as they look forward to the fearful trial of the bridge. The passage *is* difficult, not because of difficulties of syntax (there is nothing new), but because of the technical vocabulary and the strangeness of the style. Chapter seventeen was contributed by an engineer, the chief engineer of the army, the other collaborator of the pair *uno in lexiculo erudituli ambo* (Cat. 57. 7). But, for all that, the combination that piles up difficulties for the young pupil may be broken, and the dreaded chapter seventeen may be made the most attractive and the most pleasantly remembered of the whole second-year Latin work. High-school boys and girls like to play; they are still children. Teachers of other subjects have for a long time found work accomplished through effective play. Very few Latin teachers have learned that play in Latin is quite possible. While first-year Latin furnishes the largest playground, there are many opportunities for combining work and play in Caesar. Many a class of boys and girls has found more or less amusement in building a model of Caesar's bridge out of toothpicks or skewers. But we proposed last year to give the freest rein to the play-instinct and at the same time get the clearest possible understanding of the way a great Roman *praefectus fabrum* would in an emergency throw a bridge across a great river for his general's army. So, in anticipation of the much dreaded bridge-chapter, I promised the class that they should go to the woods and build the bridge on a smaller scale, but after the pattern of Caesar's bridge.

"The class worked eagerly and diligently on Caesar, almost impatient at times to reach book four, chapter seventeen. The day came; it was pouring down rain; it rained for a whole week. So great was the strain of waiting for

fair weather, that the pupils wanted to go in the rain. The following week came days of bright spring sunshine. Then, as we had planned, we prepared lunch, took kodaks, hatchets, and axes, and started for the woods, where the boys had in advance discovered an ideal River Rhine.

"We arrived at the 'river' at 9:30 and began work immediately. First we read the description in Caesar and studied out the plans. Together we figured out the size of the various materials required and then proceeded to collect them. The boys did the heavy work of chopping down small trees, while the girls cut the lighter timbers and carried them to the 'river.' By two o'clock the class had completed a bridge seven feet long and three feet wide.

"After all the building material had been assembled, we proceeded to construct the bridge. I read sentence by sentence and we followed Caesar's directions. We had found every piece of our material right there in the woods, just as Caesar's engineers had done when they built the original structure.

"First we drove into the ground sixteen *tigna bina*, straight posts about four feet high and about two inches in diameter. These were placed in pairs, four on each side. The upper ones slanted with the imaginary current, while the lower ones with props (*sublica oblique acta*) against them sloped against the current. Across the space, between the pairs of *tigna bina* we put poles, which were about four feet long and about two inches in diameter (*bipedalis trabs*). These poles were braced above and below by short, stout stakes and tied securely to the *tigna bina*. The foundation of our bridge was then complete. Long poles about one inch in diameter (*derecta materia*) were then laid at right angles and on top of the *bipedalis trabs*; then parallel to the latter and on top of the *derecta materia* were placed four-foot poles about a half inch in diameter. Over these, then, were laid small twigs and some leaves. After this we built the approaches to the bridge and put the *aliae sublicae*, or groups of stakes, above the bridge for protection against floating objects.

"When the bridge was finished, the class marched across the 'river' upon it. It met the test without a groan. The bridge still stands, and many people have visited it and walked across it.

"The whole plan worked out so well with the building of a real bridge in play, that we may venture to suggest that perhaps, if Latin teachers made more effort to combine work and play in the mastery of difficult things, the young pupil, beguiled by the spirit of play, would undertake with eagerness and find comparatively easy the most formidable tasks that may be set before him."

#### Ohio

*Cincinnati*.—The following item of keen interest to classicists is quoted from the *Cincinnati Enquirer*:

"Walnut Hills High School is to become a classical high school with a limited course of study, preparing directly and exclusively for college admission in liberal arts courses, it was decided definitely yesterday by the Union Board of High Schools. The high school is not to be called a preparatory school,



although most of the present varied courses prepare for college and are accepted for admission.

"Specific need for such a school urged by Randall J. Condon, Superintendent of Schools, and other leading Cincinnati educators, where pupils who intend to enter college might go for a six-year course, caused the Union Board to take action, affecting the reorganization of all Cincinnati High Schools. This is expected to be a counter-move against the inroads made on classical education within the last two years by the vocational training idea."

*Columbus.*—The Columbus Latin Club held the first of its current season's lecture-luncheons at the Chittenden Hotel, Saturday noon, December 14, 1918.

Teachers were present not only from Franklin County but from every county adjacent to Franklin. Plates were laid for one hundred and six members and guests, which number, the secretary reports, is the largest ever recorded.

The address of the day was by Rev. Dr. Francis W. Howard, secretary-general of the Catholic Educational Association and pastor of Holy Rosary Church, whose subject was "Efficiency and Inefficiency." Father Howard made a plea for liberal studies in the educational reconstruction to follow the war. The discussion was opened by Professor Wallace S. Elden of Ohio State University, and Professor Joseph Villiers Denney, dean of the College of Arts, Ohio State University, who took the place of Mr. Frank B. Pearson, state superintendent of public instruction, who was unavoidably absent. Professor Elden commented upon Father Howard's address from the viewpoint of higher education. Professor Denney spoke on the educational outlook in the coming reconstruction as affecting the secular or public schools of the United States.

*Denison University.*—The Honorable Judson Harmon, ex-Attorney General of the United States, and ex-Governor of Ohio, has just established an annual prize for the best work done in the Latin of the Freshman year, in his alma mater, Denison University. In his letter authorizing the prize, he writes: "I am glad to do this for the sake of the college, but also because I have always believed, and now more strongly than ever, in the value of broad, cultural training as a preparation for the life work of the student, no matter what calling or business he is to follow, and I have always regretted the spread of the idea that education should be narrowed to what is called 'practical,' that is, especially and directly connected with some particular line of activity in post student years. I do not think a youth can choose his course in life so well without the broader culture which will reveal to him, as nothing else can, just what manner of man he really is, and what he is best fitted for."

Professor W. H. Johnson, head of the department of Latin, expects to start for Italy about April 1 for a six months' trip. He will spend the first few weeks in Sicily and thence travel north in Italy. Professor Johnson promises the *Journal* a paper on some contacts of the Italy of today with the Italy of the early legends, of the Punic Wars, of Vergil and Tacitus, and various other men down to Garibaldi and Cavour.

## General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

The subject for discussion before the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies at its meeting in December was "Liberal Studies and Their Relation to Citizenship and Patriotism." Mr. Walter George Smith spoke on "The War and the Scientific Theory of Education"; Miss Agnes Repplier's subject was "The Courageous Reader"; and Dr. Henry Van Dyke discussed "Biblical Studies and Citizenship."

Professor Kirby Flower Smith, of the Johns Hopkins University, died suddenly in Baltimore on December 6, 1918. Born in 1862, he was graduated from the University of Vermont with the class of 1884. In 1889 he received his doctorate from the Johns Hopkins University, where he remained as a member of the department of Latin until his death. He was director of the School of Classical Studies at the American Academy in Rome, 1914-15. He was the editor of the *Elegies* of Tibullus, published in 1913.

The carefully selected library of the late Professor Jonathan Young Stanton was dispersed at auction in January by Libbie of Boston. Dr. Stanton was professor of Greek and Latin at Bates College for fifty-four years and his library reflected the broad interests yet discriminating taste of the true lover of letters. The English section was rich in standard authors and biography. Humanistic science was well represented, especially astronomy. This library is an interesting sidelight on the common charge that the old-time college produced men who knew nothing except a smattering of Latin and Greek. It would be more in accord with truth if emphasis were laid upon the fact that the old college developed sound literary taste and aroused intellectual curiosity where these were inherent in the student. No educational system can create them.

Mr. George W. Robinson, Secretary of the Harvard Graduate School, has recently issued a translation of Falster's *Religio philologi*. This is the first English translation of the Danish scholar's little essay; and with the title *A Scholar's Creed* it is limited to an edition of thirty copies. Christian Falster, a high-minded scholar of the old school, thought that all learning should be brought to bear upon theology, and, like Erasmus, he thought that classical authors could contribute much toward sound religion. Falster's work covered a broad field from the history of Greek literature on the one hand, to Latin

lexicography on the other, recognizing that philology, in the narrow sense, and literature are inextricably interwoven. The scholar's task is to carry both to as high a point as possible without detriment to either. Herein he will find no easy task. Falster is now best remembered for his *Amoenitates philologiae*, published at Amsterdam, 1729-32. From the first volume of this work Mr. Robinson has extracted for translation the *Religio philologi*; and he aptly refers us at the same time to Coventry Patmore's *Religio poetae* and to Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio medici*. To these we may now add Professor Gilbert Murray's recently published *Religio grammatici*.

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In all probability the *Opera Omnia* of Erasmus will never be edited again. At the present day books of theology are apt to be regarded as useless lumber on the shelves of our college libraries and are in immediate danger of being dumped in a heap upon the damp floor of some dark storeroom in a dormitory. Even if a competent editor should arise it is more than doubtful that a modern Stephanus would be at his service, ready to risk his fortune in such a publishing venture. The fame of Erasmus, however, does not rest upon his theological works as such, but rather upon his writings on mundane things. His genial satire, his ideas of education, his shrewd common sense will commend themselves to all times. "For the words of a genius so high as his are not born to die; their immediate work upon mankind fulfilled, they may seem to lie torpid; but at each fresh shower of intelligence Time pours upon their students, they prove their immortal race; they revive, they spring from the dust of great libraries; they bud, they flower, they fruit, they seed, from generation to generation, from age to age." First among these perennial works of Erasmus undoubtedly stand his *Epistolae*, which occupy 1,213 pages folio in the collected works issued at Basle in 1540. Even since Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus in the early years of the eighteenth century other letters have come to light. For some years Mr. P. S. Allen, of Oxford, has been editing anew the *Epistolae* and Mr. F. M. Nichols has been making an excellent translation. The third volume of the translation has recently appeared, bringing the work down to 1520. The translator had died before this volume was ready for the press, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Allen, after finishing his task of editing, may complete the translation begun by his friend Mr. Nichols, for he stands unrivaled in equipment. I will take this opportunity to call attention to Mr. Allen's very learned paper, "Erasmus' Relations with his Printers," contributed to the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, XIII (1913-15). Among the numerous worthies assembled in that paper the classical student will find himself in goodly company.

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At the meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, held last November at Princeton, President Butler, of Columbia, delivered an address on American education as

affected by the war. The speaker maintained that for some time past the educational world has been dominated by reactionary tendencies which were being developed and directed by educators who posed before the public as progressive leaders. Things had reached a stage so ridiculous that the only possible alleviation seemed dependent upon the appearance of a modern Aristophanes, who, however, had delayed his coming. But the war has restored sanity from an unexpected quarter.

The sudden return to a high seriousness will sweep aside the ceaseless chatter about education by those who know so little about it. Many false idols will be cast down from their exalted places of temporary power. The false doctrine of utilitarianism was grounded in a false psychology. "The moral and spiritual values have been ground between the upper and nether millstones of a psychology without a soul and an economics with no vision beyond material gain." Many discarded and rejected theories of education had been revived and paraded before us as new discoveries that were to usher in a wonderful age. "Discipline was solemnly pronounced to be not only unnecessary, but impossible, although a hundred little disciplines are right enough." The idea of a general education was often thrust aside as not contributing to a rapid pace for gain; and the doctrine was propagated that the fine qualities of character could be taught only as a part of some vocation. The catchword efficiency was everywhere shouted by the mechanics of an organization for self-seeking.

Efficiency must be made to serve some high moral purpose, and it becomes dangerous in the hands of the unscrupulous. We must again ask what knowledge is most worth while and most contributes to the best self-expression of the individual. "That knowledge is most worth while which best furnishes and disciplines the human spirit, which best nourishes and strengthens the human body, and which best contributes to an understanding and improvement of human institutions." We must accept what those before us have found good and perpetuate this and use it as a basis in our attempt to carry human development to a higher stage. Above all we must recognize that education is not merely a mechanical process. Ethics, economics, and politics must form the basis of all such education; literature, history, and philosophy will continue to preside over all, and will afford the best opportunity for developing those rare spirits upon whom depends all progress from age to age.

Science has rightly assumed an important place in education. Yet President Butler calls attention to the fact that although vast sums have been laid out in laboratories and mechanical equipment, science has not as yet become interwoven in the life and thought of people who pass for educated. A certain number of eminent chemists, physicists, and biologists have been trained, but for the general run of educated people these subjects have contributed slight mental equipment.

Methods of scientific teaching and the textbooks used are criticized. They are based on the assumption that every student is destined to be a

specialist in science. Astronomy and geology are the possible exceptions, for in them the element of human interest is more conspicuous. Great advances should be closely associated with the great names of science, and the human relationship should be emphasized. Tyndall and Huxley stand out as the types of teacher to be emulated.

What is true of science is true also of the modern languages. After prolonged study of these the student, as a rule, cannot carry on conversation of the simplest kind. Greek and Latin have been taught in a way that appeals only to the occasional budding grammarian. The true aim should be to give insight into the life and customs of peoples, and in case of modern tongues the ability to speak them is of great importance. German, French, and Spanish must be taught as living tongues.

For the student of English, nothing is so important as wide reading in standard authors. President Butler sees great danger in the daily theme. The student should first acquire knowledge of something to say before he is forced to write. This knowledge will come from good books and not from trash. He evidently thinks with old Roger Ascham that "good thoughts and good words go together."

The courses in government should pay less attention to the mere machinery of government and concern themselves more with the fundamental principles of good government. They should strive to give preparation for good citizenship, and must be based on ethics, philosophy, and economics.

President Butler sees signs of better teaching of the classics. "The classics remain the unexhausted and inexhaustible fountains of excellence in all that pertains to letters, to art, and to the intellectual life. The secondary schools and the colleges must make adequate provision for their study and their proper teaching." Here again emphasis must be laid upon their human interest, and not upon things calculated to train philologists. The part that the classics have played in the war is indicated by the following anecdote which he quotes from the French minister of public instruction. A young French lieutenant was heard to reply to the question as to what he was fighting for, as follows: "I am fighting for La Fontaine and Molière; La Fontaine, the immortal heir of Æsop and Phaedrus; Molière, the immortal heir of Plautus and Terence, and still further of Aristophanes and of Menander." "This young lieutenant knew well both how to live and how to die, for the beauty of the world and of man's achievement in it had seized hold of his soul." To this testimony we may add the published letters of numerous Oxford men who have given their lives for an ideal.

In conclusion President Butler insists that the faddists in education must be given no quarter. They have been active in taking over the highly organized elementary schools, and the disastrous effects of their schemes are all too apparent. These schools, which are at the root of our educational system, must be rescued and placed again on a sane basis.



## Book Reviews

*The Descent of Manuscripts.* By ALBERT C. CLARK. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918. 8vo, pp. xiv+464. \$11.20 net.

When the Revised Version of the New Testament appeared (which the late Bishop John Williams, of Connecticut, delighted to call the "Reversed Vision"), prominent among the footnotes stood many which ran, "Many ancient authorities [or 'very many,' or 'some'] read [or 'insert,' or 'omit']" thus-and-so: and many a pious reader was shocked to find banished from the context and relegated to one of these footnotes passages which were sanctified to him by a memory from childhood of the King James Version. He usually knew nothing about "Eastern text," and "Western text," and such-like things. If his curiosity was sufficiently aroused, he was able to discover that the ancient MSS (including versions and quotations) might be roughly classified according as they contained or did not contain certain passages, some long and some short; and that a combat was raging among New Testament critics over the question whether the briefer texts did not in general more closely represent the autographs, the fuller being the product in that respect of interpolations; or vice versa, whether the fuller texts did not better conform to the original writing, the briefer resulting from careless omissions or arbitrary abridgments. The text of the Revisers he might suspect from the footnotes to be somewhat of a compromise in principle between the two extremes; that of the Authorized Version to represent a considerably longer text (though it is not so long as that of the "Western" tradition); and the Greek text of Dr. Hort to exemplify on the whole the extreme of brevity.

In 1914 Albert Curtis Clark, the present Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford in succession to Robinson Ellis, published a not very large book on "The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts" (Clarendon Press, 4s. 6d. net). In this work Professor Clark brought a new sort of criticism to bear on the old controversy about the authenticity of these passages found in one class of ancient authorities and not in others. In addition to considerations which may be passed over here, he pointed out by copious examples that many of these passages are in length the exact measure of a single line in Greek MSS of the most antique type, or are multiples of that unit; and that accordingly, since an interpolator would not be likely to fit his insertion precisely to that pattern of longitude, such passages represent omissions for one or another reason from the archetype rather than interpolations, or congeries of interpolations, into it. He of course did not profess that in every instance the state of the archetype thus determined was surely that of the ultimate autograph,

antedating all possible interpolation, but only that it at least gave these alleged interpolations a reasonably inferred standing of antiquity much earlier, and therefore more trustworthy, than had generally been believed, going back indeed to the middle of the second century. The omission of them from MSS of the shorter text justifies suspicion of either accident or wilful abbreviation as responsible for it. If the MSS that omit them are older than those which contain them, and even though these MSS of the shorter text, by reason of age and perhaps of other excellences, are usually classed as the "best" MSS, the antiquity of the previously suspected passages, now established by the indicated test, but proves the danger of a blind consistency in following in such matters the "better" or "best" MSS and contemning the others. It also proves the fallacy of the old adage *breuior lectio potior* as a universal rule of guidance.

This was of course an argument—and, if valid in full, a powerful one—in favor of the long "Western" text (that of codex Bezae and of the ancient versions and quotations in general) as against the short text (that of the Vatican and Sinaitic codices). The battle of critics was on once more, the gage being taken up forthwith, naturally by champions of the latter tradition. Perhaps the conflict would have raged more vigorously, if a different sort of a war had not distracted the attention of the adversaries at about the time when they were launching their offensive. Professor Clark countered in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XVI (January, 1915), pp. 225-40. Meanwhile he had delivered and published (Clarendon Press, 1914, 1s. net) his inaugural address as Corpus Professor on "Recent Developments in Textual Criticism," in which, among other topics, he outlined his method of textual criticism in the matter of omitted passages, reiterated his statement of its necessary and professed limitation of field, and promised the speedy publishing of the further application of it to the text of classical authors, and especially of Cicero, in regard to whose works Professor Clark is pre-eminent among English-speaking critics. This promise is fulfilled in the volume now issued, which, the author tells us, though in print for some time, has been delayed in publication by war conditions.

In the preface and the first three chapters of the book ("Omissions in Manuscripts," "Omission Marks," etc., "The Evidence of Marginalia"), and especially in the third chapter, the author outlines and abundantly illustrates his method. In the ten chapters that follow he applies it; first, to a specimen of patristic literature (Primasius); next, to the Ciceronian palimpsests, orations, and some of the philosophical works; then, to Asconius and the Pseudo-Asconius; and finally, as an example of work on Greek authors, to the leading manuscripts of Plato and the Paris manuscript of Demosthenes.

The underlying idea of Professor Clark's method is of course not altogether new, and does not profess to be so. Omissions and allied phenomena in certain classes or families of manuscripts have often enough been recognized, and have been referred, when they were of sufficient length, to the linear arrangement, and consequently to the length of lines, in an ancestral model. The importance

of Professor Clark's work appears to lie chiefly in its full and minute analytical study of all varieties of such omissions (including repetitions, dislocations, and the like), and in the possibility of applying the process in cases where the omissions are not simply of a word or two, and have been suspected of being mere interpolations. In such cases it may be possible to show, by considerations relating to the age or character of the ancestor to which the omitted passage must ultimately be credited, that there is more reason to suspect that the shorter text has been consciously or unconsciously abbreviated than that the supplied omissions are actually interpolations. Yet here of course the critical sense must not be supplanted or dominated entirely by the measuring rod. That might lead to disaster.

These mathematical computations have an air of imposing conclusiveness. Any appeal to mathematics is likely to appear to the innocent and hesitating classicist to be the welcome struggling out from the morass of wavering and subjective judgments to the solid ground of demonstrable facts. Professor Clark—rather too confidently and jubilantly—professes to rest his case on the mathematics as an unassailable and indefectible witness. He proclaims (p. viii), "To any one who fights against arithmetic I can only say *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*." That is superb, but there is no fighting against arithmetic to be feared or suspected. No one is going to doubt that  $4 \div 2 = 2$ . But what if it does? We may kowtow dutifully before arithmetic, but Professor Clark is not intending to stop with pure arithmetic, though he appears so to claim. He is going on from that to certain deductions that are more tied up with logic and psychology than with mathematical demonstrations. He cannot wind them up with a triumphant *q.e.d.* We are entirely justified in accepting the arithmetic but joining issue (if we see fit) on the deductions that go beyond the arithmetic.

The "arithmetical test" may tend to push back the date of the interpolation to an earlier period than that of its first observed occurrence, but it may be an interpolation after all—only of greater antiquity than had perhaps been supposed. The danger of an error in judgment may be greater the nearer the putative date of omission approaches that of the ancient author himself. For when we begin to deal with the period of capital writing in short lines, where the unit of length ranges, let us say, from a minimum of ten to a maximum of twelve letters, altogether too many numbers are readily analyzable into combinations of ten, eleven, and twelve, singly or in multiples, to make the result at all convincing. Thus all numbers of the series 20-24, 30-36, 40-48, and from 50 onward all numbers *ad infinitum*, are thus analyzable. It would be so improbable an affirmation that an ancient book would be written without a single line of less than ten or more than eleven letters, that the similar arithmetical possibilities in such a case are hardly worth enumerating. (They would, however, include the series 20-22, 30-33, 40-44, and so on, and from 90 onward all numbers.) Evidently there are too many possibilities that any given passage might by mere chance exhibit an apparent connection with the

postulated linear arrangement of the early text, when in reality it had nothing at all to do with it. Of course it will be observed that the relative frequency of occurrence of a line of twelve letters in comparison with that of 10-letter or 11-letter lines is of no importance; for granted that a 12-letter line does or may occur even once, the possibility of its occurrence within the limit of the disputed passage cannot be contested, nor any argument validly based that rests upon the postulation of its absence therefrom.

A further difficulty arises when the alleged omission is complete within itself, so that its exclusion does not disturb the sense of the context in which it stood. That is the case with many suspected passages. If it be argued that away back in the period of such short lines or "sense-cola" as have been postulated in this discussion, such omitted passages are very likely by mere chance to measure a certain number of full lines, it is equally likely that an interpolation would also arrange itself by mere chance in similar relation to the unit of length. The probabilities are certainly no greater in the case of the supposed omission than in that of the alleged interpolation, so far as this circumstance is concerned; and it would surely appear more likely in other respects that such a self-contained addition would be an interpolation than that it would be an accidental omission.

Again, it of course cannot be claimed that no omissions of considerable length are possible other than those of a certain number of full lines. Take for example, then, an omission of fifty letters. That may, to be sure, represent an omission of five 10-letter lines; but it may, on the other hand, represent an omission of four and one-half 11-letter lines; and, once granted the possibility of an omission that does not coincide with a certain number of full lines, it cannot logically be postulated that in this specific case (or in any other similar specific case) we must explain the phenomenon one way rather than the other. "But," Professor Clark would probably say, "we have so very many cases where the number of the omitted letters *may* be referable to a certain number of full lines." True: but there is no cumulative probability established in that direction by multiplying cases of the same sort, when in each and every individual case there is no weight of probability on one side rather than on the other. You may add zero to zero indefinitely without the sum arriving at any assignable value. "But," he might reply, "a man is surely more likely to omit, say, five full lines than four lines and a half, and that psychologic fact establishes the probability that the aforesaid fifty letters represent five 10-letter lines rather than four and one-half 11-letter lines." Yes: that establishes a certain degree of apparent probability for the individual case, but the probability becomes no whit greater for any one specific case by the multiplication of the number of cases, so long as every time there is a possibility of the alternative explanation corresponding to the fact. The general probability that a given thing will happen so often out of so many observed times is one thing; the contention, however, that it is therefore probable at any one specific time in the series is quite another thing, and is entirely unjustifiable. The multiplication

of cases produces no increment in the antecedent probability concerning any one case, when no single case can be demonstratively determined. You cannot establish a canon of probability by citing a large number of cases, when each of these cases is itself established only by an appeal to the same canon of probability. That is to argue in a circle.

It should be clearly understood that this is not to deny the determination by a series of uncontested instances outside the range of these cases in question, that a writer is more likely to omit by inadvertence a full line than a line and a half; it is only to deny the contention that by the multiplication of these instances (each one of which is the matter at issue) an overwhelming cumulative probability in favor of each is built up. That is like claiming that, though a plea of "not guilty" by a single defendant to a given indictment creates no necessary presumption of his innocence, the same plea entered by a hundred simultaneous defendants to the same indictment establishes a cumulative presumption (or would Professor Clark even say proof?) in the case of each one that he is innocent. This would be crazy logic trying to disguise itself in the stolen robes of mathematics. To contest such alleged conclusions from arithmetic is not to kick against the pricks; it is merely to puncture an iridescent bubble.

We are back, then, at the point whence we departed, the point that has long been conceded, the psychology of the individual case. All the appeal to the "arithmetical test" might have been spared. That imposing array of arithmetical examples owes all its specious strength to the psychology of the individual case, falsely supposed to be multiplied in effect by the multiplication of assumed instances. On the other hand, each case is subject to the possibility that it may be explicable by the chances that have been pointed out. There is established no presumption, still less such a certainty as Professor Clark appears to assert, that the treated cases are, by reason of their arithmetical relations to certain units of measurement, cases of omission rather than of interpolation. Arithmetic will not settle the problem.

Evidently, for these and other reasons which would require for statement too much space in this journal, the text-critic need not fear that the abacus is about to supplant his trained judgment. He may therefore suppress any bristling of jealous apprehension, and study the new book and its antecursorial satellites with equanimity, and with gratitude for what he may find there of use and stimulus. Even if he does not agree with the author in his main thesis, he will yet be repaid by the large stores of knowledge that are here put at his disposal, stores not at all conditioned by their immediate relation to the author's special purpose. Neither palaeographer nor text-critic can afford to neglect the book, or merely to skim it. It is one of enchaining interest. To the younger student on the search for problems it opens a broad field, over which the author does not desire to assert proprietary rights of original pre-emption. "The material," he says, "is inexhaustible," and he gives would-be investigators, not merely a complete manual with extensive examples of his



method, but also (pp. xiii f.) practical advice about how to attack similar work.

One bitter word in conclusion about the price of the book. The volume is not very large, nor is it very elaborate in type. There are no plates or other facsimiles. The distributor (presumably the office-boy of the American Branch of the Oxford University Press) has tried the silly ostrich-like trick of cutting out from the printed wrapper the statement of the English price (it was 28s., as any schoolboy could easily discover), and has penciled in the price demanded in this country, \$11.20!—a rate of forty cents to the shilling. The English price is appalling, the American outrageous. Of course it will grievously limit the sale of the book, and it will not engender very kindly feelings toward the American agents.

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